
This Report has been edited by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent of the Northern Circle, who officiated as Director General from May, 1910, to February, 1912.

J. H. MARSHALL,

Director General of Archæology in India.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

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EXCAVATIONS AT SAHĒṬH-MAHĒṬH.

OWING to absence on leave during the winter of 1908-09, it was not possible for Dr. Vogel to resume again the excavations which he had inaugurated at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh in the previous year, and, as it was undesirable that the work should be interrupted for any considerable length of time, I agreed, at his request, to continue the exploration of the site. During this second season, my main objective was the area of the Jētavana Garden, famous for its connection with the life of the Buddha; but I took the opportunity, also, of examining several outlying monuments, which appeared likely to yield fruitful results and which had either escaped the spade of earlier explorers or been only superficially examined by them. Throughout these operations I had the advantage of uninterrupted help from my Excavation Assistant, Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, to whom I am indebted not only for compiling the lists of antiquities which are published at the end of this article, but for the unvarying diligence with which he watched over much of the work and the scrupulous care with which he recorded the results.

The description of the outlying monuments referred to above will not detain us long, and, as they belong mainly to an earlier period than the buildings unearthed in the Jētavana, I will proceed to deal with them first.

Panahiāṁ Jhār.

The Panahiāṁ Jhār, situated north of the Ōṛā Jhār and some ninety paces on the further side of the Balrāmpur Road, was a low mound rising not more than five feet above the level of the surrounding country. That it contained the remains of an ancient *stūpa*, appeared to me manifest from the outset, and my first care was to clear it of débris and ascertain its plan with a view to sinking a shaft in its centre for the relics which I hoped it might enshrine. A few hours' labour sufficed to prove that the *stūpa* was a circular one, 54′ in diameter and composed throughout of bricks, well baked and carefully laid, measuring 13″ × 9″ × 2″. Equally brief was my search for the relics; for the shaft had not been carried down more than four feet from the existing top—the bricks being easily and rapidly removed one by one—when the relic receptacle itself came to light. I cannot call this receptacle a casket; for it was nothing more than a rectangular slab of sandstone (Pl. XII, 2), 1′ 9″ long × 7½″ broad, undressed on its lower side and decorated on its upper with a roughly incised full-blown lotus and a simple design of circles, disposed one within another.

In the centre of this lotus was scooped out a cup-like cavity, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter at the aperture and the same in depth, which, after the relics had been placed inside, was closed by a second stone $9\frac{1}{4}''$ long × 6″ broad, slightly hollowed out on its under side. The relics deposited in this singularly primitive receptacle, the like of which has been found, I believe, in no other *stūpa* in this country, consisted of a few small pieces of bone, some gold leaf, rock crystal, circular laminæ of silver, and a silver punch-marked coin of rectangular shape and stamped with an animal and the solar symbol on the obverse and two uncertain marks on the reverse. This type of punch-marked coin may be assigned to the third or fourth century B.C., and judging from the primitive character of the relic-receptacle, there is good reason to believe that it belongs to the same early epoch. On the other hand, the fabric and size of the bricks of which the *stūpa* is built appear to indicate a later date (perhaps, the beginning of the Christian era) for its construction, and it seems probable, therefore, that the relics may have been brought here from some older shrine.[1]

Kharahuaṁ Jhār.[2]

Another *stūpa*, that appears to have been an object of great sanctity in ancient days, is the Kharahuāṁ Jhār, which lies about a hundred yards to the north-east of the Panahiāṁ Jhār. It appears to have been a memorial *stūpa*, for there were no signs of its having contained any relic deposit ; but the building is of considerable interest from a constructional point of view. As it now stands, it consists of three concentric brick walls, the inner one 16 feet from the middle, and the middle 10 feet from the outer.[3] The outermost wall is 7′ in thickness, and the two inner ones 2′ 3″, the total diameter of the structure being 105′. The foundations of the innermost ring descend to a depth of 12′ below the present surface, and the other rings start from the same level. The walls are roughly constructed of bricks averaging 12″ × $10\frac{3}{4}''$ × $2\frac{3}{4}''$, with thick mud joints between. The spaces between the three walls were filled in with ordinary clay, and the core inside the innermost ring was made of the same material pounded peculiarly hard. At first sight, it might appear that the innermost wall with its core of clay represented the original *stūpa* erected on this site, and that the two outer rings were added on two successive occasions, when the *stūpa* was subsequently enlarged ; for it was a custom, as we know from innumerable examples of such treatment, for monuments of this kind to be encased with one shell after another, especially if they happened to be invested with an unusual degree of sanctity. But in this particular case it is manifest from the identical character of their construction that the three concentric walls must have been erected at one and the same time ; and this conclusion is further borne out by the fact that the foundations of each start from precisely the same level. For, in the case of monuments of this kind to which additions have been made, it is almost invariably the rule that, the later the addition, the higher the level from which its foundations spring, the fact being that the accumulations of dust and débris around such structures are responsible for a slow but perpetual rise in the level of the ground.

[1] In a brief preliminary note in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1909, p. 1062, I expressed the opinion that the *stūpa* belonged approximately to the same date as the relic-receptacle. Further consideration of the details has led me to alter this opinion.

[2] According to Dr. Hoey the name of this mound is Panahiya Jhār, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXI, Part I, extra number, p. 39 f.

[3] It is curious to note that Dr. Hoey calls this a cock-pit, *op. cit.* p. 40.

The Ōṛā Jhār is the greatest of all the mounds around Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, having a base circumference of some 1,800 feet, and a height of 50′ or slightly more.[1] When I first examined it, its sides were covered deep in débris, and I half anticipated that it would prove to be a colossal *stūpa* of brick, such as the Chaukhaṇḍī at Sārnāth. A narrow trench, however, cut down the southern slope soon made it evident that the body of the mound was composed entirely of yellowish clay, and that the bricks lying strewn on its sides had all fallen from some relatively late structures on the summit. The most modern of these was a brick platform of the late Muhammadan epoch, 26′ square and 4′ high, plastered over with a thick layer of concrete. This was removed in its entirety; and below it there came to light a *stūpa* (Pl. XII, *a*, 1) belonging approximately to the 9th century A.D. It was cruciform in plan (Pl. XII, 3) and standing to a height of 8′ above its base, the bricks of which it was constructed measuring 11″ × 7½″ × 2″. Around the *stūpa* was a paved *pradakshiṇapatha* or ambulatory passage, 21′ wide on the west side and 5′ to 6′ on the remaining sides, approached apparently on the west by a flight of steps, of which the flanking walls were still extant. A shaft sunk through this *stūpa* revealed the fact that it was built on the top of an earlier structure, the brickwork of which descended some 6 feet below its base, at which point it gave place to the clay of the mound. Around this *stūpa*, and at a little lower level, there also came to light a number of cells of varying dimensions, which were so dilapidated, however, that it was impossible to reconstruct their original plan with certainty. The bricks employed in their construction vary in size from 14″ × 10″ × 2″ to 13″ × 9″ × 2″ and proclaim them to be of an earlier date than the *stūpa* itself.

Ōṛa Jhār.

As to the body of the mound, the presence of such solid brick structures on the top, coupled with its great size, rendered it impracticable for me to attempt to penetrate to its centre, except at a wholly unjustifiable cost. My examination of it, however, proved conclusively that it was artificially formed like the great mounds at Lauriyā Nandangaṛh and Rāmpurvā, and it may not unreasonably be surmised that it belongs to the same remote prehistoric period.

Stūpa at Bhiṭṭī.

"Above sixty *li*," says Hiuen Thsang, "to the north-west of Śrāvastī, was an old city, the home of Kāśyapa, the previous Buddha. To the south of this old city was a tope, where the Buddha after attaining *bodhi* met his father, and to the north of the city was a tope with his bodily relics: these two topes had been erected by King Asoka."[2] In Beal's translation of the same passage the distance from the capital is given as "16 *li* or so," and, if his reading is correct,[3] it is possible that the ancient town in question is to be located on a site near the village of Bhiṭṭī, about two and a half miles in a direction slightly north of west from the western ramparts of Mahēṭh. This site is now of only very limited dimensions, measuring hardly more than 150 paces from end to end, but the remains are clearly those of an early settlement, whether town or village, and, like all such settlements lying low amidst cultivated fields, the site has no doubt been much encroached upon by the plough and shrunken considerably in the course of a dozen centuries. As to the two *stūpas*

[1] General Cunningham wrongly estimated its height at 70′. *A. S. R.*, Vol. 1, p. 345.

[2] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 400.

[3] The weight of other authorities seems against Beal. Julien, like Watters, gives 60 *li* as the approximate distance from the capital. In Legge's *Fa-hien* it is given as 50 *li*. See p. 63.

referred to, there are no visible traces of any such monument to the south of the settlement, but to the north I found the ruined base of a large brick *stūpa* measuring 56 feet along each side. The original edifice was somewhat smaller in size and constructed of bricks measuring $21\frac{1}{2}'' \times 14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$, the core of the structure being divided up into chambers which were filled with pounded clay. The outer wall only remains here and there in a very dilapidated condition. It varies in width from 1′ 7″ to 2′, and is made of bats of the same large-sized bricks as are used in the inner part of the *stūpa*. At a later date, the structure was surrounded by a square wall about two feet thick and built of bricks averaging $13'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ in size. The interior of this *stūpa* was carefully examined, but the only antiquities discovered were three earthen jars of a primitive type, which came to light in the north-east corner of the *stūpa*. All three were filled with a mixture of sand and clay. One of these jars is figured in Plate III, 7. It is 10″ high and made of a coarse, buff clay, without slip or colour, its only decoration consisting of bands of clay applied around the base of the neck and body.

Judging from the size and fabric of the bricks employed in its construction, the original *stūpa* is to be assigned to an epoch not later than the Mauryan.

SAHEṬH.

If the reader will turn to the plan of Sahēṭh published on Plate I, he will be able to see at a glance the extent of previous operations in the Jētavana as well as of the excavations carried out by me during the past season. In 1907-8, Dr. Vogel had devoted himself mainly to clearing the buildings on the surface, which had already been partially examined by previous explorers,[1] namely, the structures shown in black hatching on the plan and numbered 1, 2, 3, 5, 12 and 19. My own efforts were directed to continuing this work of clearance and, at the same time, to penetrating the lower and earlier levels, where I hoped to find some tangible evidence as to the topography of the site during the earlier centuries of the Christian era. For it was patent that the structures identified by General Cunningham with the several monuments referred to by Fa Hien and Hiuen Thsang had been erected several centuries after the latter's visit to the site, and nothing therefore could be safely deduced from them as to the disposition of the Jētavana at the time of the Chinese pilgrims. The buildings unearthed by me are indicated in red on the plan and, for facility of description, may conveniently be divided into three groups, *viz.*—(1) the large and important group covering most of the northern area; (2) the buildings around the shrine No. 3, near the middle of the site; and (3) a few scattered structures towards the south.

Northern Area.

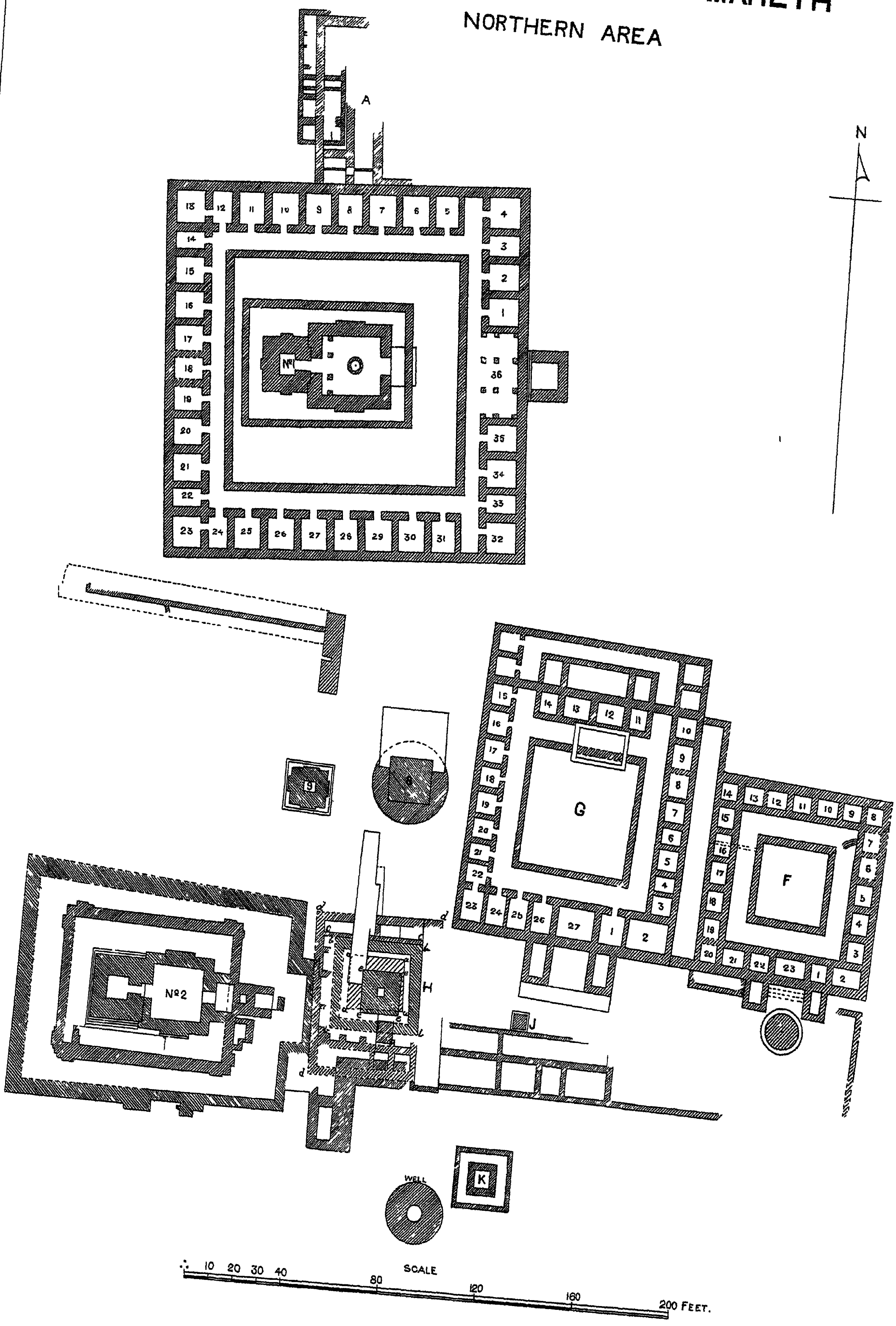
Monastery around Temple I.

The northern area proved to be the most interesting and fruitful part of the Jētavana, and most of the time and labour which I devoted to Sahēṭh was spent upon it. The monastery around temple No. 1, which was started by Dr. Hoey and of which the entrance porch was discovered in the winter of 1907-8, was the first to be completely cleared and turned out to be

[1] See *A.S.R.*, 1907-8, pp. 117 *seq.*

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH

NORTHERN AREA



the largest building as yet unearthed at Sahēṭh, measuring 150′ from east to west and about 142′ from north to south, with a total number of 36 chambers around the courtyard. In front of the chambers was a verandah, of the usual type, the pillars of which were set on a low plinth wall. The largest chamber, which occurs in the eastern row, appears to have been the entrance hall. Its roof was carried on four columns standing free in the middle of the hall, with pilasters corresponding to them against the three side walls. The bases of these columns are constructed of bricks, the columns themselves, like those of the verandahs, being presumably of wood. The rest of the chambers are small and all of them, no doubt, did duty as cells for the monks. The floors, both of the cells and of the courtyard, were laid in concrete. The well, which was discovered by Dr. Hoey in the antechamber of the temple, seems originally to have belonged to this monastery. In date, the monastery is somewhat earlier than the temple which stands in the middle of the courtyard, and may approximately be assigned to the 10th century A.D.

It has hitherto been supposed that the temple No. 1 and the monastery around it formed the northern boundary of the Jētavana,[1] and perhaps this may have been the case at the latest period of its occupation. The recent excavations have, however, brought to light remains which show that in earlier times the Jētavana extended further north towards the city and that the boundary wall on this side must be looked for somewhere among the cultivated fields in that direction. The remains referred to are those of a small monastery (A) measuring about 89′ from north to south and probably the same from east to west. Only the western side, however, of this building was exposed, and that not completely; for the southern chambers with the verandah in front of them lie hidden beneath the monastery described above, and the north to south measurement which I have given has been calculated on the assumption that the chambers and verandah on the south are of the same dimensions as those on the west. The outer wall of the monastery is 3′ 8″ thick, as is also the inner wall around the courtyard. Judging from the quantities of charred wood found amidst the débris, the pillars and superstructure of the verandah as well as the roofs and doors of the cells were constructed of wood. The floor-level of this monastery is 6′ lower than that of the later building to the south, which it must have antedated by four or five centuries. The remains of a still earlier edifice were found at a lower level, partly concealed (*vide* plan on Pl. II) by the western cells of this monastery. The bricks of which it is built measure approximately 13″ × 9″ × $2\frac{1}{4}$″; those of the monastery above are about 10″ × 8″ × $1\frac{3}{4}$″. **Monastery A.**

In the area to the west of No. 1 in the north-west corner of the plateau, a variety of different buildings came to light, but the digging in this part of the site was confined mainly to trial trenches, and only one structure (B) was completely laid bare. As will be seen from the plan on Plate I, it is quadrangular in plan about 50′ along each side, and may have served either as a dwelling house or as a very small monastery. The southern wall of this structure (indicated in black hatching on the plan) occurs in a trench excavated by Dr. Hoey and was partly exposed by him. The number of chambers is fourteen, but the party-walls between **Building B.**

[1] Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. XI, p. 82, and Pl. XXIV.

them are badly damaged and on the east side are scarcely visible above the floor. The building appears to have faced eastward and the large room on this side probably did duty as the entrance hall The east wall, it is to be noticed, extends in the southern direction for some 25′ beyond the corner of the building, and appears to have connected it with the contemporary building C, on the south. Among the minor antiquities found in this building were a brass spoon and six circular terra-cotta medallions decorated in relief with a variety of designs (List of Terra-cottas, 18-23, and Pl. III, 1-6) The style of the carving on these medallions proclaims them to be of the Gupta period, and it was during this epoch, no doubt, that the building [1] was deserted.

On the plan on Plate I will be seen a long line of cells running beneath, but at a slightly different angle to the south side of building B, and projecting beyond it in a westerly direction This line of cells belongs to a monastery of considerable size which had fallen to ruin before the buildings B and C were erected, and which served, in part, as the foundations of those structures. The back wall of these cells is 2′ 4″ thick, while the partition walls are constructed of a single course of bricks measuring about 13″ × $9\frac{3}{4}$″ × $2\frac{1}{2}$″, laid as stretchers. The date of this monastery appears to be the 1st or 2nd century A D.

Monastery C. As to building C, it is approximately contemporary with B, is constructed of similar materials, and possibly formed part of the same monastic establishment. Of this structure only three chambers at the north-west corner have been exhumed Their inner dimensions are about 7′ × 6′ and the width of the walls varies from 3′ to 3′ 6″. The passage in front is 6′ 8″ wide and laid in concrete.

The character of the remains further to the south is less distinct, though there can be little doubt that the three rooms indicated in black, which were unearthed by Dr. Hoey,[2] together with the rooms adjoining them which were exposed during the past winter, formed part of a monastery. This supposition is borne out by the clear indications of a verandah laid in concrete in front of them The two walls to be seen in the cutting a little to the south also appear to have belonged to this building, forming part of its southern wing; while the remaining ones on the north constitute some sort of an adjunct, possibly a refectory.

Structure D. There is nothing else to be noticed in this area except the remains of the chambers marked D, which are built on a lower level and belong to an earlier epoch than those just described [3] It was on the floor of the southern room that the interesting earthen goblet (Pottery, No 2, and Pl III, 8) was found The goblet is 1′ high and is provided with a tall neck pierced with a minute hole for the admission of air and with a spout at the side [4]

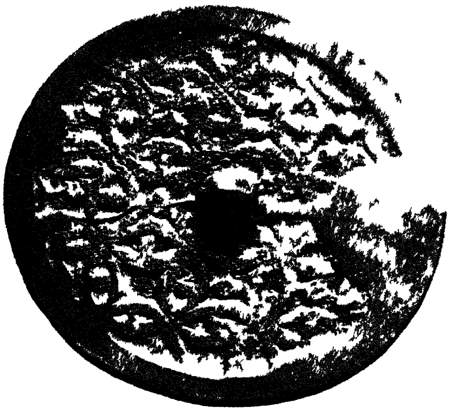
Structure E. The area between temples Nos. 1 and 2 was examined by two trenches drawn across it from east to west, but nothing of any interest was revealed except the structure E, which consists of an antechamber and a second room behind it of about

[1] The size of bricks employed is 14′ × $10\frac{1}{4}$′ × $2\frac{1}{4}$

[2] His Report, Pl V, No. 37.

[3] The bricks used measure 13″ × $8\frac{1}{4}$′ × $2\frac{1}{4}$′ and are carefully chiselled on the inside

[4] There is an interesting passage in I-Tsing (Takakusu, pp 28-29) regarding the water vessels of the Buddhist monks. The fact that fragments of vessels of this shape are found in abundance on the sites of Buddhist monasteries, suggests that this may have been the ordinary drinking bottle of the monks Only two other complete specimens are known to exist, namely, one in the Lucknow Provincial Museum and the other in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which was unearthed by me at Bhitā in 1900-19



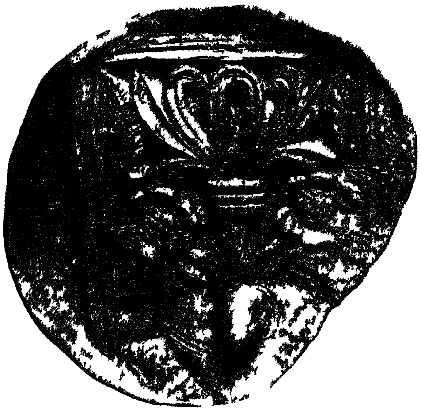
1



2



3.



4



5

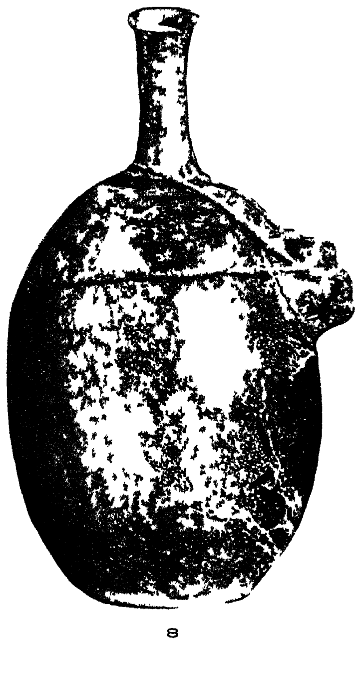


6.

TERRA-COTTA MEDALLIONS FOUND IN BUILDING B



7



8

JAR FROM STUPA AT BHITTI.

JAR FOUND IN STRUCTURE D.

the same size, the entrance being towards the west.[1] The plan of this little building is somewhat remarkable, and the more so, because it is identical with that of the Nirvāṇa temple at Kasiā. Possibly, it may have served like it as a shrine for an image of the Dying Buddha.

Eastern Gateway

It will be remembered that in the time of Fa-Hien the Jētavana had two gates, one towards the east and the other towards the north. General Cunningham located the north gate a little to the west of temple No. 1, and the east gate immediately to the east of temple No. 2.[2] As to the former, the position of the entrance still remains to be verified; for no digging has yet been done in this part of the site, and it is not known what remains lie buried there. On the other hand, it is now amply evident that General Cunningham was right in his location of the east gate. For my excavations have disclosed a very early approach right in front of the shrine No. 2 (Pl. I) at the depth of some five feet below the surface. This approach has been opened for a distance of more than 220′, beyond which point cultivated fields prevented its further clearance. There can be no doubt, however, that it led to the eastern gate of the sacred precinct and thence to the gate of Śrāvastī, through which the Chinese pilgrims passed when coming to the Jētavana.

The road, which is laid in concrete, is in a fair state of preservation, but its complete width could not be ascertained owing to a row of chambers having been built at a later period along its south side (Pl. II). The construction of the road is contemporary with the buildings marked F and G, and is to be assigned to the early Kushaṇa period. This date, let it be remarked, is confirmed by the discovery of a number of copper coins of the Kushaṇa kings in a cell of monastery F (List of Coins Nos. 3-9).

Among the smaller antiquities which turned up in the débris above this road were some terra-cotta figurines (List Nos. 4, 5, 13 and 17) and two inscribed sealings of the Gupta period. All these, however, were found within a few feet of the surface and afford no evidence as to the date of the road. Another small antiquity, which came to light in the spoil earth thrown over the road by previous explorers, was the lower portion of a red sandstone statuette (List of Sculptures, No. 3, and Pl. IX, *a*) of a Bōdhisattva of the Kushaṇa period with a short dedication carved on its pedestal: *Bhikshuṇiyē Raj*[*i*]*yē dānaṁ*—" the gift of the nun Rajī."

Monastery

The monasteries F and G are placed side by side on the north side of the road leading to the Eastern Gate and face naturally towards it. The existence of these two buildings was known to Dr. Hoey, and the portions indicated in black on Plate I were excavated by him. The smaller monastery F is nearly square in plan, measuring about 75′ each way, and is built after the usual fashion, with an open courtyard surrounded by a verandah and rows of cells on each of the four sides. The entrance, which faces towards the road on the south, consists of a flight of steps, 9′ 10″ wide, flanked at each side by a small oblong chamber. This is the same type of entrance that is found in the earlier monasteries at Kasiā, and it is noteworthy that in their case the chambers communicate only with the cells at the back of them. At Sahēṭh, unfortunately, the ruinous condition of the walls

[1] The walls are 4′ thick, and the bricks of which they are made measure 14½″ × 8½″ × 2¾.

[2] *A.S.R.*, Vol. XI, p. 82, and Pl. XXIV.

makes it impossible to determine whether this arrangement was followed or not. At a later date. these chambers are often replaced by solid piers (possibly with chambers above them on the first floor), as, for example, in monastery D at Kasiā, which has been assigned by Dr. Vogel to the period 700-900 A.D. Owing to an immense mound of spoil earth which had been thrown up by previous excavators it was not possible to expose completely the northern side of this monastery ; portions, however, of almost all the partition walls were exposed and there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the plan shown in Plate II The floors of the courtyard and cells were neither paved nor plastered, but their level was clearly indicated by the hardness of the earth and by a drain which carried off water from the courtyard. This drain starts near the north-west corner of the courtyard, crosses the verandah and cell No. 16 and empties itself into the space between this monastery and monastery G, which will be referred to subsequently

The doorways of the cells have not been indicated in the plan owing to the difficulty of determining their precise position. This difficulty is due to the fact that when this monastery had fallen into ruin, a second building was constructed on its remains, and in order to provide solid and sound foundations for the latter, the old doorways were bricked up and the cells filled with débris, and, inasmuch as the doorways had previously fallen in, there was no clear line of demarcation between the earlier and later brickwork. In the later building, the interior of the courtyard was laid in brick measuring 14″ × 9″ × 2″, but the floors of the cells, like those of its predecessor, were of mud The brick paving, unfortunately, had to be removed in order to reach the lower level (Pl. IV).

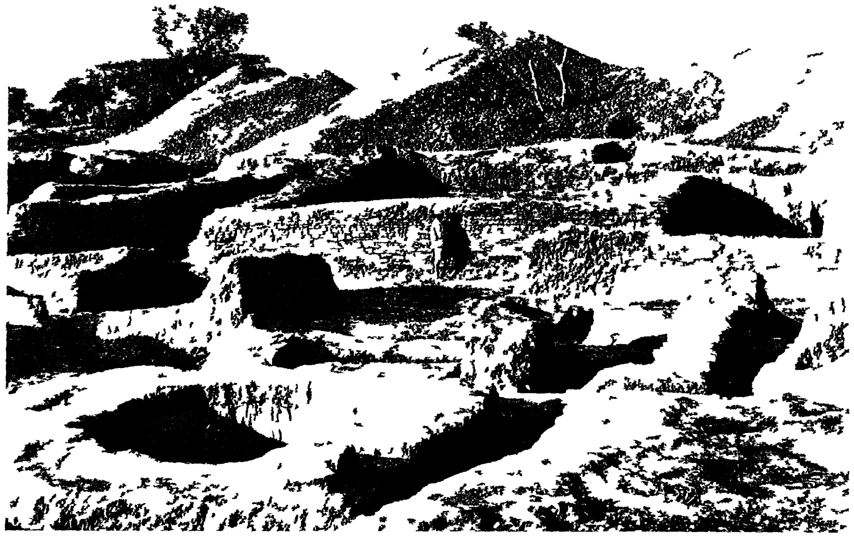
Among the smaller antiquities found in this building there are two, belonging to the later period of its occupation, which deserve special mention. One of them is an ivory seal die (List No 1) which came to light in cell No 3 and bears the name of *Śaṁdāsa* in characters of the 4th or 5th century A D The other find was made in cell No. 15. It is an earthen pot which contained, besides a small quantity of shell, a collection of coins, 105 in number, which will be found fully described in the list of coins below. Apart from its numismatic interest, this find is of value as helping us to determine the age of the building in which it was made. The bulk of the coins, *viz.*, 96 out of the total number of 105, are of Vāsudēva, the last of the Kushana kings, and as these are the latest coins in the find, it may safely be inferred that the deposit was made either during or shortly after the reign of that monarch ; it may also be inferred that the chamber in which the coins were discovered fell to ruin either at that or at some earlier date But as this chamber belongs to the later monastery erected on the remains of the earlier structure, it follows that the building of the latter must be referred to a considerably earlier period, and with it also the buildings G, H, J and K, which are constructed in the same style and stand on the same level.

Monastery G. The monastery G is considerably larger than its neighbour and oblong in plan, an extra strip being added for some purpose on to the north side of the monastery proper. The latter is all but square and planned on the usual lines. The courtyard in the middle measures 40′ square, the verandah passage 8′ wide and the wall between them about 3′ 6″ in thickness. The chambers which, apart

PLATE IV.



(*a*) BUILDINGS F, G, H, J AND K, WITH ROAD TO EAST OF NO 2



(*b*) MONASTERY F FROM THE SOUTH



(*c*) STUPA NO 8.

from the entrance hall, number 26, are of varying dimensions and the one in the south-west corner (No. 23) has no direct communication with the verandah. The cells as well as the courtyard have floors laid in bricks of the same size as those used in the construction of the walls, *viz.* 14″ × 10″ × 2″; and in some of the cells these floors slope down from the back walls, possibly for the convenience of the monks when resting.

The main entrance of the monastery is similar to that of its neighbour (F), the steps being 15′ 4″ long, and the chambers flanking them 11′ 2″ × 4′ 6″ internally.

What the purpose was of the extension of this building towards the north is not apparent. It contained, as may be seen from the plan, seven chambers—two along each of the east and west walls and three on the south, the middle one of which was filled entirely with brick débris. Nor is it possible to decide whether there was communication with the rest of the building by a doorway or doorways in the party wall, or whether an entrance to it was provided only from the outside.

As indicated above, this building is approximately contemporary with monastery F, but several alterations were afterwards effected in it, extra partitions being added in some of the cells, and a new platform constructed in front of the old entrance.[1] These alterations must have taken place long after the original building, for the foundations of the new partitions are laid above the old floor. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the fallen débris above was found an inscribed clay sealing with characters of the late Gupta period.[2] It is probable that the final desertion of this monastery had taken place at least a century earlier.

The only minor antiquity from this building which deserves notice is an artistically designed terracotta lamp (Pottery No. 6). It was found in the débris over the floor of the entrance chamber.

Stūpa H.

Of the *stūpas* H, J, and K, the first mentioned seems to have been invested with particular sanctity; for not only was it rebuilt several times before the mediæval *stūpa* which now stands on the top came into existence, but it is set immediately in front of temple No. 2, which there is good reason to identify with the famous Gandhakuṭī, and right in the midst of the main road which approaches this sanctuary from the east. Of the original structure only the square plinth (*a, a, a, a,*) measuring about 20′ along each side, now survives (Pl. II). This plinth is constructed of bricks of the same size as those in the monasteries described above and is, as already stated, of the same date. The first casing (*b, b, b, b,*) must have been added soon after the original structure. It is 4′ 2″ in thickness and about 37′ along each side externally. The bricks in it measure $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$. This was followed by another shell (*c, c*), which has disappeared on all sides save the north. The size of bricks used in it is 13″ × 9″ × 2″. The wall is composed of a double course, the bricks being laid as stretchers in the outer and as headers in the inner. Last of all comes the casing marked *d, d, d,* in the plan. It is very heavily built of large-sized bricks, $17'' \times 12'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, and is oblong in plan measuring about 60′ long from north to south and 51′ broad. The extension, however, on the south was probably in the nature of a platform. The space between this last casing and the one immediately preceding it was divided by cross walls into narrow compartments which were filled with débris. The

[1] The bricks used in these repairs measure 12″ × 9″ × 2″.

[2] *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 128, s. 28.

wall on the east side has disappeared, but it is well preserved on the remaining sides and is standing to a height of about 5′. The eastern portion of the north wall is composed of smaller bricks ($12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}'$), which were no doubt used during a later repair. This wall and the casing inside it, which alone could be exposed to their foundations, start approximately from the same level as the monasteries F and G, but there can be no doubt as to their being later than those buildings, and the last shell must have been added about the Gupta period.

We may assume that the last casing (*d, d, d,*) survived intact for a long period and some portion of it was, no doubt, still visible in the 10th or 11th century, when the late *stūpa* (*e, e, e, e,*) was erected on its remains, though the latter, be it remarked, was not placed symmetrically in relation to the earlier structures. This late *stūpa* measures 16′ 6″ square and is faced with brickbats measuring $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$. In its middle was a relic-chamber about 4′ square and faced with bricks measuring $13'' \times 9'' \times 2''$, but nothing of interest was found within this relic-chamber.

Stūpa J. Situated in the middle of the road a few feet to the south of monastery G, this *stūpa* is coeval with the three buildings just described.[1] The superstructure has entirely disappeared, but the plinth is well preserved to a height of 2′ 6″ above the level of the road (Pl. 5, *a*). It measures 6′ 9″ square, and its sides are relieved by a torus moulding over a plain base with narrow tapering offsets above, set at each corner and in the middle of each face.

Building K. The character of the third structure (K) is not wholly apparent. It consists of a chamber, 12′ 8″ square, with a paved passage around enclosed by an outer wall. The latter is 2′ thick and measures 24′ 4″ from east to west and 23′ from north to south, the passage varying slightly in width from 3′ 2″ to 3′ 10″. The floors of the inner chamber and the passage around it are paved in bricks of the same size ($13'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$) as those used in the walls. The outer wall is plain, but there is a simple torus moulding on the outer face of the inner chamber wall, a little above the floor. At first sight it might appear that the structure was a small shrine with a paved *pradakshiṇapatha* around, but the absence of any doorway in either of the walls shows conclusively that this was not the case. In all probability, it was a *stūpa* with a relic-chamber within and a paved walk outside; and the outer wall was added at a somewhat later date when the *stūpa* was enlarged, the space over the pavement between the two walls being filled with débris.

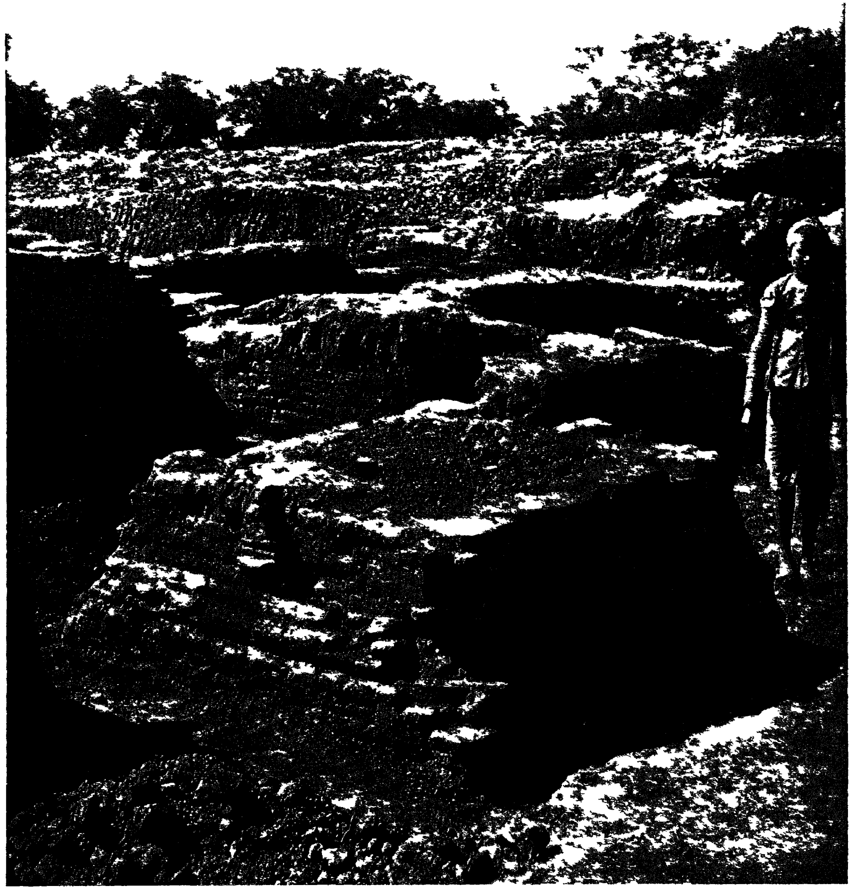
Well A few feet to the south-west of this structure is a carefully constructed well, which appears to be of a slightly later date than the building K. Its interior diameter measures 7′ 6″[2], and the parapet around it 7′ broad and $1\frac{1}{2}'$ high above the level of the neighbouring *stūpa*. The bricks are of the same size as those in the building K. The only noteworthy feature of its construction is a band of bricks laid on edge a little below the top. The well was cleared to a depth of more than five feet below the water level, which was 11′ 8″ from the top and yielded sweet and clear water, which was used by the labourers during the excavations.

Stūpa 8. The number of minor antiquities brought to light in the Jētavana is relatively small, but in this number are two sculptures of exceptional interest, both of which

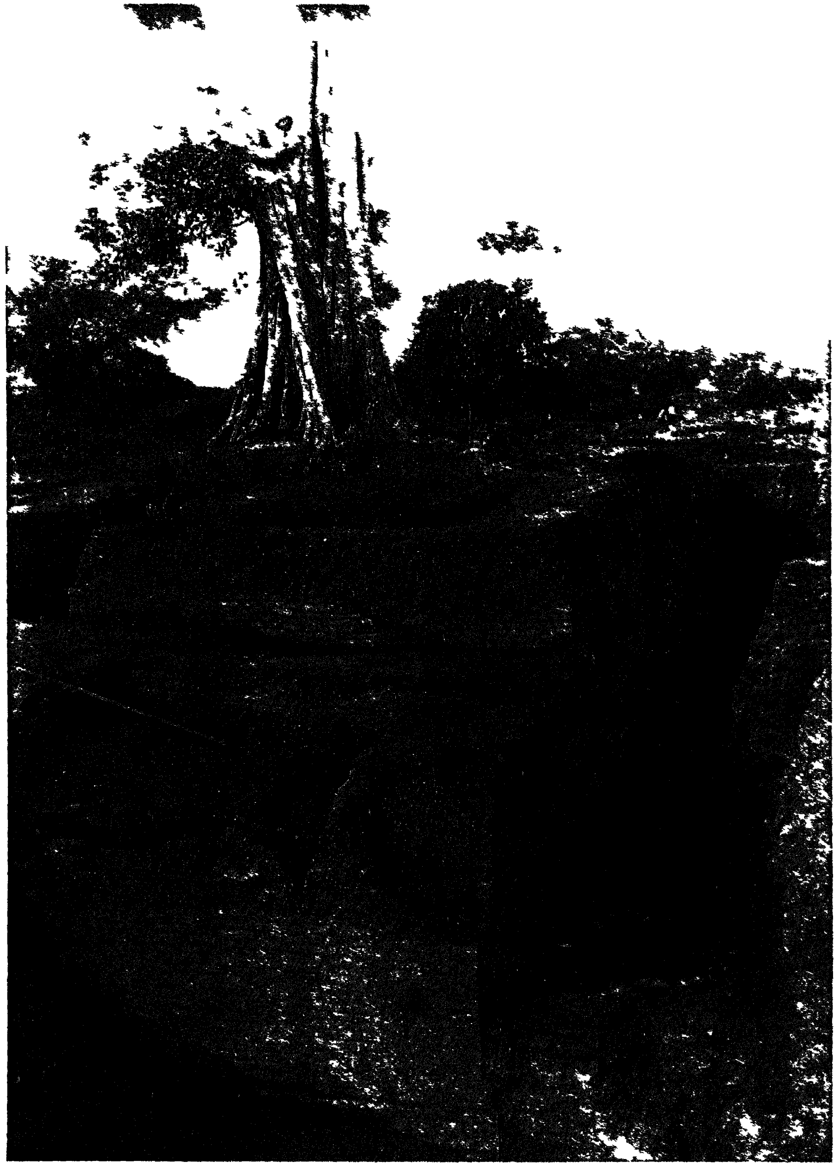
[1] The bricks employed in its construction measure $14' \times 10'' \times 2''$.

[2] In the plan on Plate II the measurement of the inner circle is incorrect.

PLATE V



(*a*) STUPA J.



(*b*) BUILDING O.



a.



b.



c

were discovered in this area. One of them (Pl. VI. *a*) came to light in a structure marked 8 in the plan, which was first discovered by General Cunningham.[1] General Cunningham was right in regarding the northern chamber as a later addition, but he made a strange mistake in representing the southern half of the building as a hollow chamber with pilasters against the side walls, and it is obvious that, in spite of the plan which he gives of it, he could never have examined the interior of the fabric; indeed it seems almost doubtful if he ever saw it at all. As a fact, the structure is a solid *stūpa* built of brickbats, 16½′ square and standing to a height of about 6′, with a shallow projection of the usual type on each of the four faces. Its date falls within the 9th or 10th century A.D.

Immediately below this *stūpa* there came to light an earlier *stūpa*, circular in plan and of larger dimensions, with the remnants of a concrete floor around it (Pl. IV, *c*). From the fact that this floor is 2′ 3″ above the floor of the neighbouring monastery G, it may be inferred that the *stūpa* is of a considerably later date than that building.

It was in the upper and later of these two *stūpas* that the sculpture referred to above had been deposited. It was found, facing the east, immediately below the foundations. This sculpture (Pl. VI, *a*) is the broken pedestal with the legs of a seated Bōdhisattva statue in the round, measuring 2′ 8″ wide × 1′ 7″ high and 1′ thick. No fragments were found of the upper part of the statue and the fact of its being a Bōdhisattva was only ascertainable from an inscription cut on the pedestal. The legs of the figure are crossed and the soles of the feet, which are turned upwards, are decorated with the symbols of the *dharmachakra* surmounted by the *triratna*, a wheel (*chakra*) and *svastikas*. There are remnants of a girdle (*kāyabandhana*) which kept the under-garment (*antaravāsaka*) in position. The ends of this girdle are seen under the crossed legs. The robe (*saṅghāṭī*) reaches down to the calves of the legs a little below the knees and the folds of the under-garment are indicated on the top of the pedestal below the feet.

The attitude of the Bōdhisattva was apparently that of protection (*abhayadāna*); for traces of the fingers of the left hand can still be seen on the left thigh, and it is an interesting fact that, in the *abhayamudrā*, this is the position of the left hand in sculptures of the Early Mathurā School.[2] The material of this image is red sandstone, of which the Mathurā images are invariably made, and like them, too, it is executed in the round.[3]

The front of the pedestal is divided into faciæ, on three of which inscriptions are incised. The three uppermost lines of writing are of the early Kushaṇa period and contemporary with the sculpture. They inform us that two Kshatriya brothers, one of whom was Śivadhara, set up this Bōdhisattva statue in the Jētavana of Śrāvastī and that the Bōdhisattva was executed by a sculptor of Mathurā.[4] This inscription, I need hardly say, derives especial value from the additional authentic evidence with which it supplies us regarding the identification of Sahēṭh with the

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1 *A.S.R.*, Vol. XI, p. 91 & Pl. XXVI.

2 *Vide* Vogel, *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, Pl XVI. In Gandhāra images, the left hand generally rests on the lap.

3 *A.S.R*, 1906-7, p. 150 ff.

4 For further particulars of this inscription see a separate note on it in *A.S.R*, 1908-09, pp 133 ff.

Jētavana of Śrāvastī. The *pros* and *cons* of that question have been summarised by me in the pages of the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal*[1] and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the evidence on the point yielded by our excavations has now been generally accepted as conclusive. The fourth line on the pedestal contains only the Buddhist creed in characters of the 9th or 10th century A.D. Probably it was added at the time when this relic of a long-past age was being enshrined in the *stūpa* from which it has now been recovered.

The other image spoken of above was discovered in the *stūpa* No. 9, a building also of the mediæval period.[2] This image is a statuette (Pl. VI, *b*) of the Buddha in the round, seated on a lion throne (*siṁhāsana*), 1′ high, 7½″ broad, and 3″ thick. The figure is seated in the *abhayamudrā* like the Bōdhisattva described above ; in this case, however, the left hand of the figure does not touch the thigh, but is raised like the right hand and holds the folds of the robe, the ends of which are discernible on the pedestal. There was a circular halo behind the head, of which a small fragment remains on each side ornamented with the design of a full-blown lotus, the same design being reproduced on a larger scale on the back of the halo. The robe of the Buddha is carried over both shoulders and down the back. Between the lions on the pedestal is a relief representing a seated Bōdhisattva with two attendants bearing garlands on either side of him, and on the base below these figures, is a short inscription (Pl. XI, *b*.) in late Kushaṇa characters. It reads *Sihadēvasya Pr*[*ā*]*var*[*i*]*kasya Sākētakasya dēyadha*[*r*]*ma*, and may be rendered, "The pious gift of Sihadēva, a Prāvarika, of Sākēta (Ayōdhyā)." The inscription makes no reference to Mathurā, but the style of the sculpture leaves no room for doubt that it emanated from the later Mathurā School. Curiously enough, there is in the Mathurā Museum a sculpture so closely resembling this one, that both may well have come from the hand of one and the same artist. The sculpture in the Mathurā Museum is not inscribed, but its style proclaims it as belonging to the transition between the Kushaṇa and the Gupta periods, and the date which Dr. Vogel assigned to it in his catalogue of the Museum is now confirmed by the inscription on the new example from Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh which is referable to the late Kushaṇa period.

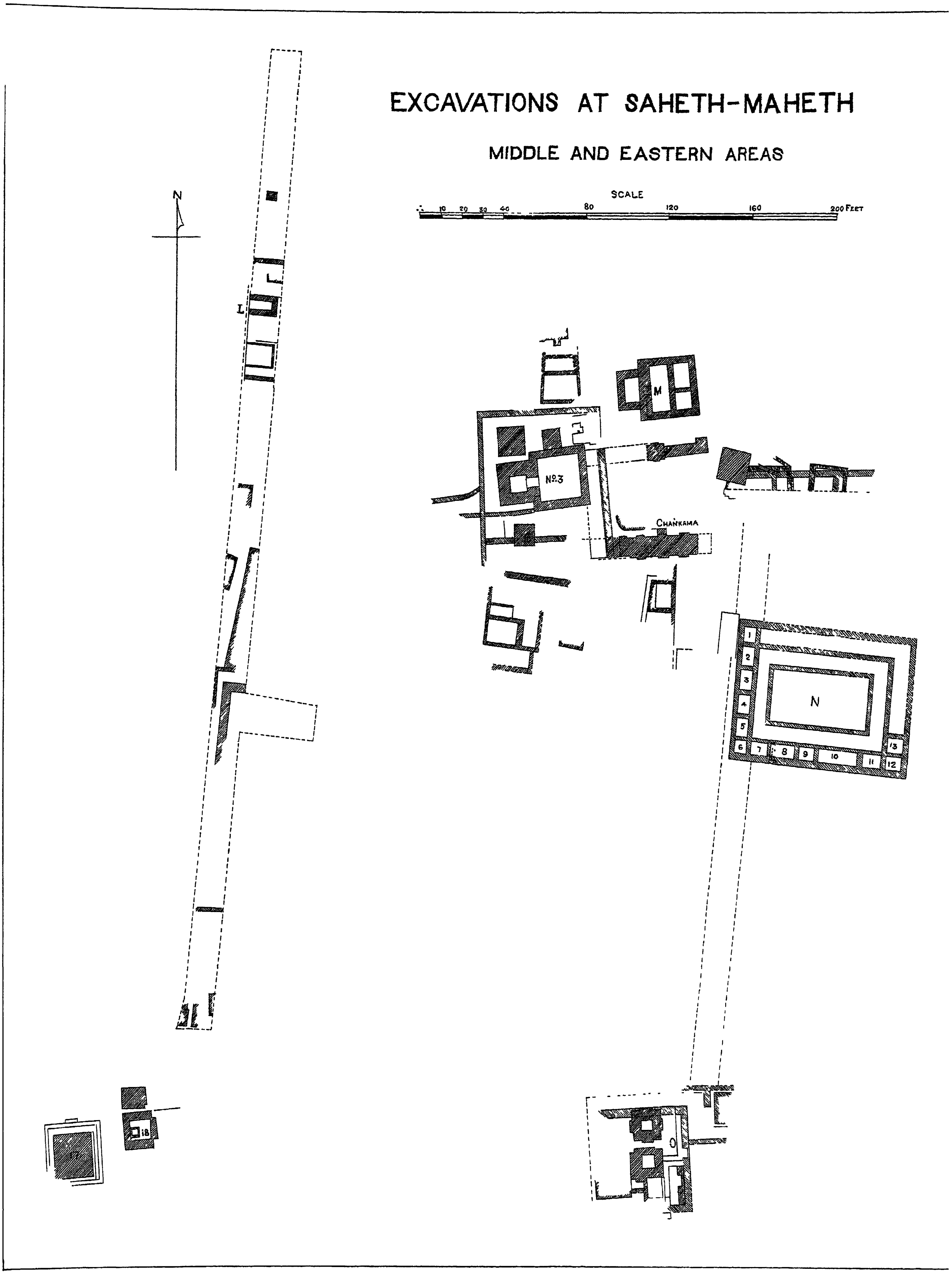
The material of the sculpture is a reddish sandstone and the statuette seems originally to have been painted red.

Middle Area.

The main buildings in this area are grouped around temple No. 3 or situated on the elevated ground to the east of the site. General Cunningham, it will be remembered, identified temple 3 as the site of the Kōsambakuṭī, in which the Buddha resided after his return from the Trāyastriṁśa heaven. All available evidence favours this identification, and each excavation has made it more and more evident that the temple was one of peculiar sanctity. Apparently, before the present edifice was erected there was an earlier, and probably a smaller, shrine on the same spot ; for on the north and west sides we laid bare a ruined wall of an earlier date, which

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1908-9, pp. 1066 *seq.*

[2] 3′ 6″ below its top.


EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH
MIDDLE AND EASTERN AREAS
SCALE
10 20 30 40 80 120 160 200 FEET
N
L
M
No. 3
CHAṄKAMA
N
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
17
18

starts from a lower level than the shrine itself and is oriented at a slightly different angle. We take it that this wall was built to enclose the precincts of the earlier shrine. Between it and the shrine there was also unearthed the lower part of a *stūpa* with square base and circular drum, which appears to have been erected some time after the shrine.

To the east of the shrine, Dr. Vogel's excavations in 1907-08 had brought to light a well-preserved promenade (*chaṅkama*), and a second promenade has now been found about 33′ to the north of it and directly opposite. The new promenade is 61′ long and 5′ 2″ broad, and springs from the same level as the one previously unearthed. Some 8′ to the north of this promenade there also came to light a mediæval shrine (M) containing two cells with plastered floors and an antechamber in front. The internal dimensions of the cells are 8′ 4″ × 8′ and 12′ × 8′, the width of the door in each case being 2′ 9″. The temple faced towards the west and was entered through a porch which seems to have been added after the completion of the temple.

The area to the south of the promenade described above appears to have served for many centuries as a rubbish heap ; for it was covered deep in ashes, broken débris and other rubbish. Little, however, of interest was found among the refuse.

Monastery N.

To the south-east of this point is the monastery N, the floor of which was reached at a depth of 5′ 6″ below the surface. It is built on the usual plan and it was not deemed necessary to explore more than the west and south sides. The floors of the cells are paved in bricks which are of the same dimensions (14″ × 8″ × 2½″) as those used in the construction of the walls. The width of the outer wall is 3′, the party walls being 2′ thick.

Among the minor antiquities which came to light in this building were two inscribed sealings (List, 5 and 6), stamped with the Buddhist creed, which were found in cell 6 at a depth of 4½′ below the surface. The characters on the sealings belong to the 6th or 7th century A.D. and it is probable that the building ceased to be occupied about this time or shortly before. The mutilated images (list of Sculptures 5, 8, 11 and 14) which were also found in this building are some five centuries later, and were no doubt thrown amidst the débris over the monastery long after it had been deserted.

Structures O.

The remains at O, almost due south of the building just described, are of a somewhat confused character and belong to different dates. The latest of them are two *stūpas* (Pl. V, *b*) set side by side a few feet below the surface. Both rise about 4′ high, are of the usual cruciform type, and possess relic chambers about 6′ 6″ square. They are constructed of bricks measuring 7″ × 5″ × 2″ and belong, approximately, to the 11th or 12th century. Immediately below these *stūpas* was a building of which only a small portion could be exposed. Its walls, which start from a depth of about 8′ below the surface, are standing to a height of about 5 feet, and are carefully built of bricks measuring 12½″ × 8½″ × 2″. On its eastern side are two rooms, the floors of which were covered with heaps of ashes, and in one of these rooms was found a lump of pure gold in a clay crucible. Apparently, at the time of its destruction, it was occupied by a goldsmith, who was probably employed in the making of images and such things for the Jētavana.

To the west of the group of buildings which I have been describing a long trench some 15′ broad and more than 430′ long was carried from the north through the middle of the site. In old days, this part of the Jētavana must have been occupied like the rest of the site by buildings; for various remains of buildings came to light in the trench, namely, a brick platform,[1] possibly the base of a *stūpa*, and what appears to have been the entrance of a monastery[2] towards the northern end of the trench, and various walls[3] and remains of *stūpas* towards the south. All these remains, however, were covered in alluvial soil and mud, and it was obvious that for a long period they must have been hidden beneath the waters of a *jhīl*, which even now has not entirely dried up. This being so and the conditions being so unfavourable to the preservation of brick-work, it was not deemed desirable to follow up any of the remains exposed.

Southern Area.

Much of the southern area, east and north-east of monastery 19, appears to have been given up to the erection of *stūpas*. A row of these monuments, stretching north and south, was unearthed by Dr. Hoey in the year 1884-85, but they appear to have been mistaken by him for the bases of columns. One of them, marked 10 in the plan, which has since been completely excavated, is figured in Plate VIII, *b*. The original structure appears to belong to the 4th or 5th century A.D. At a later date, perhaps in the 8th or 9th century A.D., it was enlarged by the addition of an outer casing, of which the plinth is rather exceptionally well moulded. A few other *stūpas* in this area were also brought to light during Dr. Vogel's excavations of 1907-8, and a number more during the past season. Of the latter, the row immediately to the east of monastery 19 was erected during the 12th century A.D. or thereabouts, and consists of simple memorial structures erected apparently to commemorate the visits of pilgrims. More interesting than these are the two *stūpas* of the Kushaṇa period concealed under the late mediæval buildings numbered 17 and 18 in the plan.

Stūpa 17.

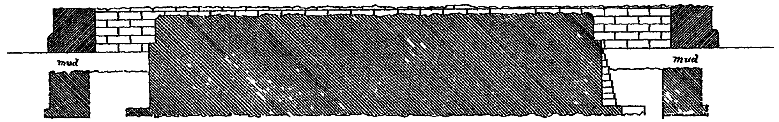
The former (Pl. VIII, *a*) of these has a plinth 21½′ square with a round drum, about 19′ in diameter, the transition from the square to the round being cleverly contrived by a series of offsets at the corners which rise in concentric curves towards the drum. The actual base of the *stūpa* could not be reached owing to the later additions that had been made to it. Of these, the earlier one starts from the same level, approximately, as the offsets referred to above, but is standing to a height of 2′ 3″ only. The floor which surrounded it is still traceable on the west side and composed of concrete. Of the later casing we only possess the plinth, which is 28′ 3″ square and is separated from the top of the shell which preceded it by a layer of mud, 8″ deep. The *stūpa* was opened by means of a shaft which was sunk in the centre of the original structure to the depth of some 7′ below the surface. At this point I found an earthen pot about 10″ high. It was filled with earth in which were found a hollow bead of

[1] The bricks of this platform measure 18″ × 10″ × 4″. It was some 7′ below the surface.

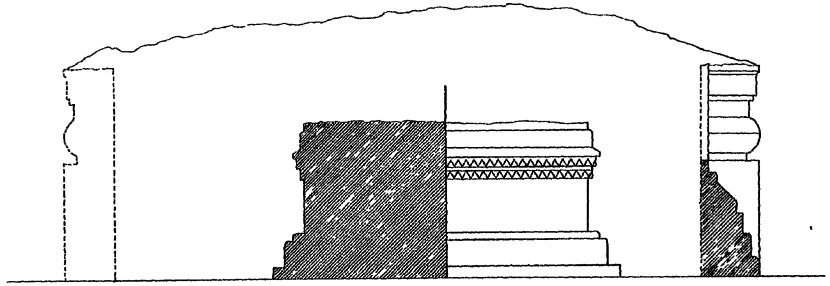
[2] The entrance consists of two chambers with steps between. The chamber to the north measures 10′ long × 4′ 5″ internally; the other is somewhat larger. The walls of these chambers were standing to a height of about 4′ and were found immediately below the surface.

[3] The long wall shown in the plan near the middle of the trench measures 54′ 6″ in length and is composed of bricks 14″ × 10″ × 2″. Its base was 7′ 5″ below the surface.

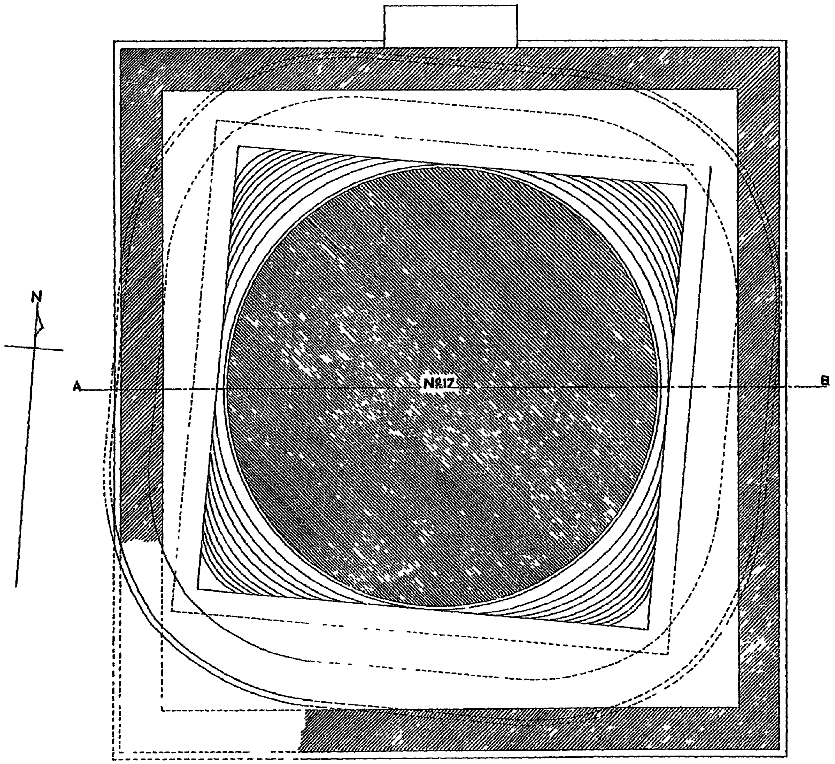
EXCAVATIONS AT SAHETH-MAHETH



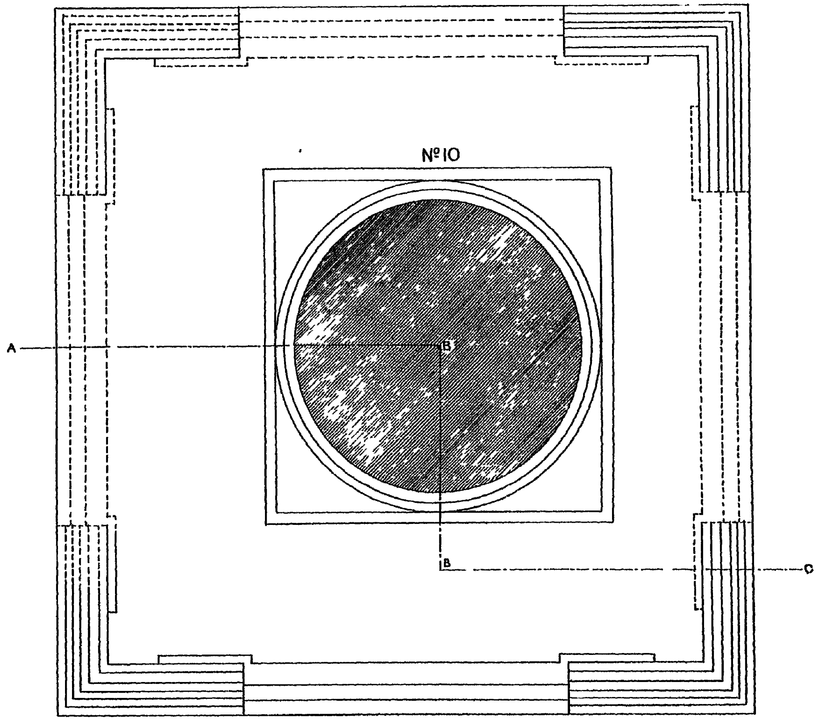
SECTION ON A.B.



SECTION ON A.B.C.



PLAN



PLAN

gold (diameter $\frac{3}{4}''$), 2 pieces of thin gold wire, a crystal bead, and another piece of crystal, which was originally set in a finger ring. The bead of gold referred to is shaped like a vase with foliage issuing from it and may be seen in the middle of the smaller necklace illustrated in the accompanying photo (Pl. XII, 1, *a*).

The other *stūpa* of the Kushaṇa period referred to above is concealed beneath *stūpa* No. 18—a late structure, about 14′ square with a projection 2′ deep on the east side.[1] The sides of the original *stūpa* could not be exposed owing to the superincumbent mass, but its relic-chamber[2] was reached at a depth of about 5′ below the top of the later building and proved to contain an earthenware bowl and relics of some interest and value. The bowl (Pl. VI, *c*), which is nearly hemispherical in shape, measures about 9″ in diameter at the top and 5″ in height. It is composed of a fine clay, covered with a white slip and red colour wash. On the rim are three concentric grooves and some trident-like devices, such as are frequently found on terra-cotta sealings[3] adorn its sides. But the most interesting feature of the bowl is a short inscription in Kushaṇa characters cut on its base, outside. It reads: *Bhadaṁtasya Budhadēvasya dānam*, "Gift of the venerable Budhadēva." The contents of the bowl consisted of three minute fragments of bone, 17 or 18 hollow beads of gold (Pl. XII, 1, *a*), 104 beads of various sorts of stone (Pl. XII, 1, *b*) and a quantity of large pearls in a semi-decayed condition. Two of the stone beads are fashioned like miniature vases and six others like birds. This collection of pearls and beads is one of the largest recovered from a *stūpa* and recalls to mind the collection from Piprāhvā. It is a pity that the short record on the bowl gives so little information regarding these relics. **Stūpa 18.**

LIST OF COINS.[4]

The coins discovered in the course of these excavations include a collection of 105 Indo-Scythian coins which were found in an earthen pot in cell No. 15 of monastery F. These are registered as items 3-9 in the subjoined list.[5]

1. Billon coin, presumably of Sophytes, king of the Salt Range.

Obverse :—Head of king to front.

Reverse :—Cock standing r.

Found in the vicinity of temple No. 3.

2. Copper coin of Ayūmitra (?) of Ayōdhya of the "cock and bull" type. Circular and die-struck.[6]

Obverse :—Bull standing l. before a post.[7]

Reverse :—Palm tree to r. To l., cock facing to the r. Below, curved line, which may be river or snake.

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[1] The bricks used in this late structure measure 12″ × 9″ × 2″.

[2] About 3′ square.

[3] *e.g.*, on a number from Basārh and Bhītā. *Cf.* also inscription of Khāravēla, King of Orissa, and coins of the Pāñchāla Kings. On a Yaudhēya coin (Smith, *I. M. Cat.*, Pl. XXI, 20) the same symbol appears as two snakes with a line between them.

[4] This and the following lists have been compiled by Pt Daya Ram Sahni.

[5] It is worth remarking that there are no coins of Vāsishka in this lot, although we know (*J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 1311 ff.) that he ruled between Kanishka and Huvishka.

[6] Mr. V. A. Smith is probably right in fixing 150 A.D. as the date of Ayūmitra.

[7] The post is doughtful in this coin as well as in the specimen illustrated by Smith (*op cit.* Pl. XIX. 17).

3. Much worn copper coin of Kanishka.
   Obverse :—King standing at altar.
   Reverse :—Wind-god. To r, a few vestiges of the Greek legend Oado. *Cf.* Smith *I. M. Cat.*, Pl. XII, 4.
4. Copper coin of Huvishka.
   Obverse :—King seated on throne.
   Reverse :—Moon-god (?) *Cf.* Smith, *I. M Cat*, Pl XIII, 6.
5. Copper coin of Huvishka.
   Obverse :—King riding elephant to r.
   Reverse :—Deity, probably Mioro, the sun-god. *Cf.* Smith, *I. M. Cat.*, Pl. XIII, 3.
6. Fifty-four copper coins of Vāsudēva.
   Obverse :—King standing l. with r. hand over altar and trident in l. hand.
   Reverse :—Throned goddess Her r. hand holds fillet and l., cornucopiæ. Greek legend *Ardoksho*.
   Cf. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, Pl. XXIV, 13.
7. Forty-two copper coins of Vāsudēva.
   Obverse :—King standing l. with r. hand over altar. Trident in l. hand.
   Reverse :—Two-armed Śiva standing facing. Behind him, bull standing . Greek legend *Oesho* is preserved only on one specimen. *Cf* Smith, *I. M Cat.*, Pl XIII, 8 and 9.
8. Five Kushāṇa coins which are badly defaced.
9. Copper coin of Kanishka.
   Obverse :—King standing l at altar.
   Reverse :—Goddess standing r. Vestiges of Greek legend *Nana*. *Cf.* Smith, *I. M. Cat.*, Pl. XII, 3.
10. Copper coin of Kanishka found in spoil earth.
    Obverse :—King standing l. at altar. Rest obliterated.
    Reverse :—Wind-god flying to l. Defaced.
11. Copper coin of Mas'ūd S̲h̲āh, Sulṭān of Delhi, 639-44 A.H.
    Obverse :— السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين
    Reverse :— مسعود ساه above Chauhān horseman.

Found in area to north of temple No 2. *Cf.* Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, Pl. II, 34.

LIST OF SCULPTURES.

Buddhist.

1. Lower portion of seated Bōdhisattva of the early Kushaṇa period.[1]
2. Statuette of Buddha of the late Kushaṇa period.[2]

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[1] See page 11 above
[2] See page 12 above

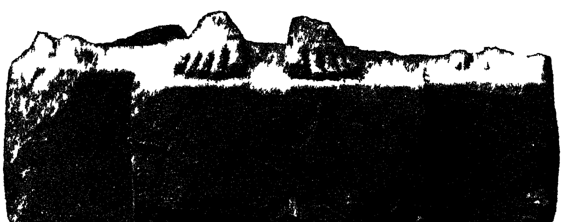

a


b


c.


d


e


f

3. Lower portion of a standing statuette of a Bōdhisattva, 3½″ high and 4″ broad. Between the feet of the deity is an uncertain object resembling a lion's head which was probably introduced to distinguish the figure as one of Śākyamuni before his enlightenment. The pedestal bears a short inscription in Kushaṇa characters, which records that the statuette was presented by a nun named Rajī (?). The material is the red Mathurā sandstone, and the style of the sculpture is that of the Mathurā School. It was found in the refuse earth thrown up during some previous excavations to the east of building No. 2. (Pl. IX, *a.*)

4. Upper portion of an image of Lōkanātha, from waist upwards, 6½″ high. The body of the deity is inclined a little to the proper left. The left hand holds a lotus with stalk (*sanālakamala*) ; the right hand, which is broken, appears to have been in the gift-bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*). The deity was seated with the right leg hanging down. On the proper left border is a male figure, perhaps Hayagrīva. The sculpture is carved out of the dark grey stone used by the Magadhan sculptors and is also in the same style.[1] (Pl. IX, *b.*)

5. Three-faced head of grey stone, 9″ high, apparently of Trailōkyavijaya, a secondary Buddhist deity.[2] The images of this deity have four faces (*chaturmukha*), the fourth face being shown on the back (*pṛishṭhataḥ*). In the head-dress, we notice a figure of a Dhyānibuddha. On grounds of style the sculpture may be assigned to the 8th or 9th century A.D. Found in monastery N near the surface. (Pl. IX, *c.*)

6. Upper portion of a black stone image of Buddha (?), 4″ high. The existence of the *bōdhi* tree overhead and the position of the arms indicate that the attitude was that of meditation (*dhyāna*). The date, which falls somewhere in the 11th or 12th century A.D., is determined by the script of a few words carved near the right arm. Found 3′ below the surface in the 30th cell of monastery around temple No. I.

7. Broken head of a small Buddha image, 2½″ high, made of red sandstone. Mediæval. Found near the surface in building No. C.

Brahmanical.

8. Image of Gaṇēśa in high relief, 2′ 1½″ high, made of a drab-coloured soft stone. The deity is seated on an ornamental cushion and had four hands, three of which are broken. The fourth hand—*i.e.* the upper right one—holds a mace broken in the middle. There is a figure on either side of the deity which cannot be recognised, and a pair of *gandharvas* carrying garlands to either side of the god's head. Found in building No. N, 3′ below the surface. Belongs to the 11th or 12th century A.D. (Pl. IX, *d.*)

Fragmentary and Miscellaneous.

9. Much damaged female figure of red sandstone of the late Kushaṇa period. Height 1′ 3″. Found at the bottom of the well which was sunk by Dr. Hoey in *stūpa* No. 5.

10. Two fragments forming the hand of a colossal red sandstone statue of the late Kushaṇa period. Found at the same spot as the above.

[1] It is probable that this sculpture was manufactured in Magadha and presented at Śrāvastī by a devotee who came from that district.

[2] See Foucher, *L'iconographie Bouddhique*2,ᵉ partie, p. 58.

11. Fragment of sculptured border in dark grey stone bearing a winged horse spouting forth a garland of pearls. On the back, is a short unintelligible record in characters of about the 7th century A.D. Found in building No. N, 5′ below the surface.

12. Fragment of border of dark grey stone, 5½″ high, bearing foliage and a miniature figure of a Buddha in the attitude of imparting security. Circa 9th century A.D. Found to east of No. 2, 4′ below the surface.

13. Headless, footless, and handless female statue broken into several fragments, altogether 9″ high. The figure wears a necklace, a garland, bracelets and several strings of pearls round the loins. Appears to be the work of the 10th or 11th century A.D. Found in the long trench east of No. 3, 5′ below the surface. (Pl. IX, *e*.)

14. Broken pedestal of grey sandstone, 4½″ high and 11″ broad, and bearing three pairs of human feet. The date of the sculpture, which is Saṁvat 1177 (A.D. 1120), is supplied by a much obliterated record incised on the middle portion of the pedestal. It is also surmised from the formula *praṇamati nityaṁ*, which concludes the inscription, that the pedestal belonged to a Jaina image. Found in building No. N, about 2′ below the surface. (Pl. IX, *f* and Pl. XI, *c*.)

15. Pedestal of a grey stone image, 4″ high, with the feet only of the main figure surviving on it. On the right of the feet sits a small figure in a devotional attitude and behind it is standing a female figure gazing with bent head, as if at the deity that stood in the middle. Circa 12th century A.D. Found to the west of temple No. 3, about 3′ below the surface.

16. Fragment of a mediæval sculpture, 10½″ high, bearing a female figure with a dagger or bow in the right hand and canopied by the seven hoods of a snake. Found in the long trench east of temple No. 3, a little below the surface.

17. Hand holding a *vajra*, 4½″ long, made of a drab-coloured soft stone. Mediæval. Found to the south of No. 3, 2½′ below the surface.

18. Lower portion of a sculpture of the same material, 13″ high, bearing the lower portion of a figure between two attendants. Late mediæval. Found near the surface to the south of temple No. 3.

19. Fragment of a sculpture of the same material, 10″ high. It exhibits a right hand in the gift-bestowing attitude, below which are a female worshipper seated with joined hands and a standing figure which seems to hold a flower in the right hand. Circa 13th or 14th century A.D. Found to the south of temple No. 3, 1′ below the surface.

20. Circular box of grey stone, 1½″ high and 2¼″ in diameter at aperture. A groove in the rim shows that the box was originally fitted with a lid. There is nothing to indicate its date. Found in the area to the west of temple No. 1, about 6′ below the surface. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 9.)

21. Red sandstone stool on four legs, 9½″ high, 15″ long and 7½″ broad. The top was, at a later date, used for sharpening implements. Date unknown. Found in the long trench to the east of temple No. 3, 5′ below the surface.

22. Square plaque of sandstone with floral decoration, which may have been used as a tablet of homage (*āyāgapaṭa*). Found near the surface to the north of temple No. 3. Mediæval.

Inscribed Seals and Sealings.

The inscribed seals and sealings found at these excavations numbered 29. Twenty-two of these contain only the Buddhist creed, but are useful inasmuch as they help in assigning approximate dates to the buildings in which they were found and of other minor antiquities found with them. One of the remaining sealings is Śaiva and four others exhibit devices without legends.

1. Seal-die or matrix of ivory. Oval face, $1\frac{3}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{8}''$. Top pierced with a small hole. In the upper portion, ornamental trident (*triśūla*). Below, legend *Śana(i)-dāsa* in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D. Found $4\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface in a cell of monastery F.

2. Terra-cotta seal-matrix with perforated top. Circular face, $\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter. Much worn, but an ornamental wheel with a conch on each side clearly visible. No legend. Date, judging from the style of the symbols, is the 4th or 5th century A.D. Found in débris above the courtyard of monastery G.

3. Terra-cotta sealing; oval, $1\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$, with a single border line. *Śiva-liṅga* on pedestal. To its r., trident axe; to its l., symbol of elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*) fixed in a vase. Above the *liṅga*, crescent and star. Below it, waved line, perhaps snake. In exergue, much-defaced legend in northern characters of the 5th century A.D, which appears to be *Bhagavat-Ōndhakēśvarasya* meaning "Of the holy lord of Andhaka." It should be noted, however, that Andhakēśvara as an epithet of Śiva is not known from literature, though one of his recognised epithets is *Andhaka-ripuḥ*, "the enemy of the demon Andhaka." Found nearly 2′ below the surface to the east of temple No. 2.

4. Terra-cotta seal-die with perforated handle. Rectangular, $1\frac{3}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{16}''$, with a border-line. No device. Legend in northern characters of the 5th or 6th century A.D. *Mātṛisya* (?). Found about $3\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface on the approach in front of monastery G.

5. Well-baked terra-cotta sealing with oval face measuring $\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{5}{8}''$ and containing the Mahāyāna formula in four lines of small but neatly executed letters belonging to the 6th century A.D. The legend exhibits both the tripartite and the bipartite forms of the letter *ya*. Found in the south-west corner of monastery N, $4\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface.

6. Terra-cotta sealing, with oval face, $\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{5}{8}''$. Buddhist creed in five lines, in characters of the 6th century A.D. It was produced from the same matrix as No. 5, by which it was found lying.

7. Circular terra-cotta sealing, diameter 1″. Bears the Mahāyāna formula in northern characters of the 6th or 7th century A.D. Found in the long trench in the middle of the site, 1′ below the surface.

8. Terra-cotta sealing with oval face, $1\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$, with a double beaded border line. Buddhist creed in much worn northern characters, which appear to belong to the 6th or 7th century A.D.

9. Well-baked terra-cotta sealing, nearly circular, diameter $\frac{3}{4}''$, with a single border line. Buddhist creed in six lines. The characters belong to about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Found to the south of monastery N, 3′ below the surface.

10. Terra-cotta seal-mould with a perforated handle. Rectangular face, $1\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1''$.

It exhibits a vase with flower buds. No legend. Found in building No. B, 2′ below the surface.

11. Rectangular terra-cotta tablet, $\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{5}{8}''$, bearing indistinct figure of an animal and pierced in middle with a hole. It was probably used as some sort of an amulet. Found in the same building, 6′ below the surface.

12. Terra-cotta tablet with oval face, $\frac{7}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$. Contains a standing figure of a man in uncertain costume. Found in spoil earth.

Terra-cottas.

Among the terra-cottas unearthed at Sahēṭh, the most interesting are some figurines of the Gupta period, which supply useful information regarding the costume of that age.[1] They were cast in moulds in the same manner in which they are still made in different parts of the country.

Human Figurines.

1. Fragmentary terra-cotta plaque of greyish clay, about $2\frac{1}{2}''$ square, bearing the figures of a man and a woman standing together. The figures are much worn, but the treatment of the hair, the features, and general execution leave no room for doubting that the terra-cotta belongs to the Gupta period. Found 1′ below the surface in the long trench in the middle of the site. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 1.)

2. Terra-cotta head, $2\frac{1}{4}''$ high, with the hair dressed in three-peaked periwig. Style typical Gupta. Hole in the top. Found 4′ below the surface in the long trench in the middle of the site. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 2.)

3. Head, $2\frac{3}{8}''$ high. The treatment of hair resembles that frequently found in late Gandhāra sculptures. Found $4\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface to the east of temple No. 2. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 3.)

4. Terra-cotta head, $2\frac{1}{2}''$ high, with long tresses or braids falling on each side in typical Gupta style. Found on the approach to east of temple No. 2, 3′ below the surface. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 4.)

5. Terra-cotta head, $2\frac{1}{2}''$ high, with the hair falling on the sides in long curls. Gupta period. Found on the approach to temple No. 2, 4′ below the surface. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 5.)

6. Head of a female figure, $4\frac{1}{2}''$ high. Circular mark on forehead. Large ring in right ear. Found in building B, 6′ below the surface. (Pl. X, 1.)

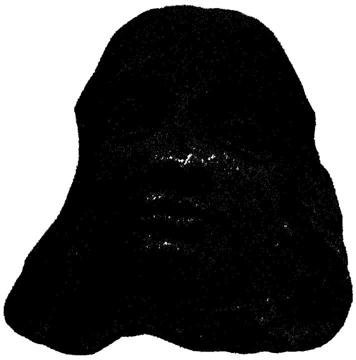
7. Head with a radiated scalloped nimbus, $3\frac{1}{4}''$ high. Perhaps Buddha, though the *ushṇīsha* is not indicated. Circa 8th or 9th century A.D. Found in structure B, 2′ below the surface. (Pl. X, 2.)

8. Very roughly shaped terra-cotta head, $3\frac{1}{4}''$ high. 11th or 12th century A.D. Fund in a cell of monastery around temple No. 1. (Pl. X, 3.)

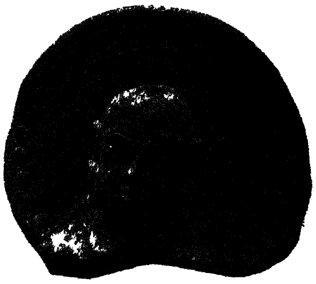
Animals.

9. Figurine of an elephant, 8″ long, originally attached to a terra-cotta plaque. Gupta period. Found to the west of monastery No. N, at a depth of 8′ from the surface. (Pl. X, 4.)

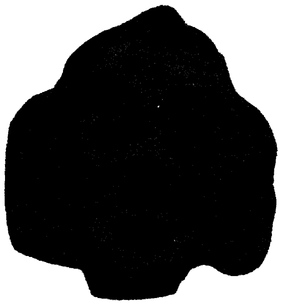
[1] A large collection of Gupta terra-cottas has since been unearthed at Bhīṭā in the Allahabad District, for which see *A. S. R.* for 1911-12.



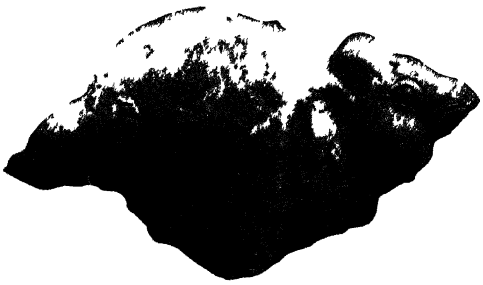
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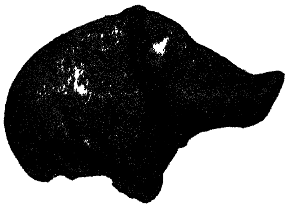
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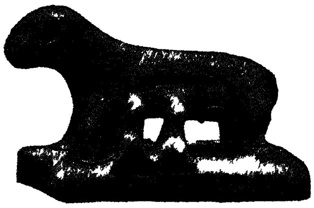
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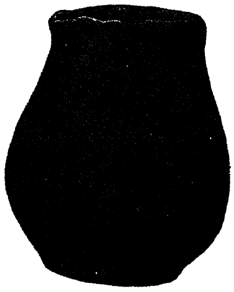
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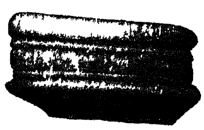
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10.



11.



12.



13

10. Bird, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ high, with human head, in Gupta style. Found in the long trench in the middle of the site, $3\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 7.)

11. Seated figurine of a horse, 2″ long and $1\frac{1}{2}''$ high. Gupta style. Found to the north of temple No. 2, 3′ below the surface. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 10.)

12. Terra-cotta figurine of a quadruped, $2\frac{1}{4}''$ high. The head is broken. Early Gupta period. Found to the east of temple No. 3, $8\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 11.)

13. Child's rattle in the form of a hollow bell, $2\frac{3}{4}''$ high. Late Gupta period. Found on the approach to temple No. 2, 3′ below the surface.

14. Hollow terra-cotta figurine of a boar, $3\frac{1}{2}''$ long. Circa 8th century A.D. Found to the west of temple No. 3, $5\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface. (Pl. X, 5.)

15. Terra-cotta bitch standing to left and suckling pups. Same date and spot as above. (Pl. X, 6.)

16. Terra-cotta elephant, $2\frac{1}{2}''$ high. 11th or 12th century A.D. Found in a cell of monastery around temple No. 1. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 6.)

Other Objects.

17. Terra-cotta roller of rough cylindrical shape, 8″ long. The surface is roughened and the article was probably used for cleaning feet. Gupta period. Found in the approach to temple No. 2, 5′ below the surface.

18—23. Six terra-cotta medallions, diameter 4 to 5 inches. They are adorned with a variety of foliate and conventional designs incised on them. In two of them the device consists of the well-known vase and foliage which has been a favourite motif with Indian artisans from early ages. For medallions of an earlier date and in stone, but of a somewhat similar character to the one figured in Plate III, 1, compare *A. S. R.*, 1903-04, pp. 986. Found in building B. (Pl. III, 1-6.)

24. Brick-bat bearing the name *Pavarikasya* in Kushaṇa characters. Found east of temple No. 2. (Pl. XI, *a*.)

Pottery.

Among the many earthen vessels broken or entire, which came to light, there are relatively few which deserve notice.

1. Jar, 10″ high, made of coarse buff clay without slip or colour. It contained sandy clay, was found in the ancient *stūpa* near the village of Bhiṭṭī and may be assigned to the 3rd or 4th century B.C. (Pl. III, 7.) See above p. 4.

2. Well shaped goblet. See above, p. 6.

3. Water jug, 5″ high, originally provided with spout. Coarse buff clay without slip. Gupta or earlier. Found to the east of temple No. 3, 10′ below the surface. (Pl. X, 7.)

4. Goblet, 4″ high with a flat base. Coarse buff clay. Gupta period (?). Found in monastery G, $4\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface. (Pl. X, 8.)

5. Fragmentary cup, 2″ high, with neat line-decoration on the outside. Fine buff clay with slip. Gupta period. Found to the south of monastery F, $4\frac{1}{2}'$ below the surface. (Pl. X, 10.)

6. Vase-shaped lamp, 2″ high. The lip which held the wick occurs in the side, which is decorated with a series of elephant and lion heads alternating in segments formed by the crossing of wreaths. Fine buff clay. Gupta style. Found in the entrance chamber of monastery G, 5′ below the surface. (Pl. XII, *a*, 2, 8.)

7. Lamp in shape of flat saucer with a narrow base, 1½″ high. In middle, protuberance with hole for suspension of lamp. Of coarse buff clay. Gupta period. Found near the south-east corner of monastery F, 4′ below the surface. (Pl. X, 11.)

8. Crucible, 3½″ high, for melting of metal. Coarse clay. Found to the east of temple No. 2, 4′ below the surface. (Pl. X, 9.)

9. Bowl, 1¼″ high with moulded sides. Coarse clay. Found at the same spot as above. (Pl. X, 12.)

10. Top of a goblet. Height 4″. Buff clay with reddish slip. Found in monastery G, 2½′ below the surface. (Pl. X, 13.)

11. Trough with sloping sides, 14½″ square at top. The corners are surmounted with roughly executed figures of birds. Porous buff clay, lightly burnt. Circa 7th or 8th century A.D. Found to the south of the *chaṅkama*, 6′ below the surface.

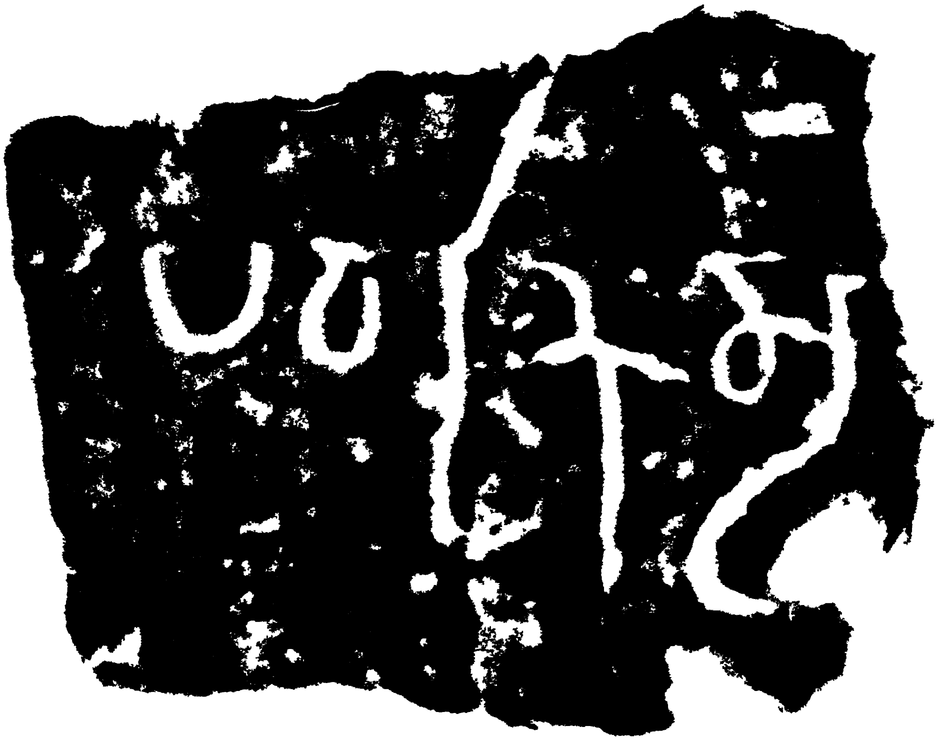
12. Terra-cotta finial broken at top and base. Height 15″. Gupta period. Found to the east of temple No. 3, 7½′ below the surface.

13. Terra-cotta mould, 3½″ in diameter, which was probably used for the printing of cloth. The pattern is an elaborate one consisting mainly of incised lines. There is a short handle at the top. Buff clay with reddish slip. Mediæval. Found in monastery N, 5′ below the surface.

Bricks.

The buildings unearthed at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh throw useful light on the value of bricks in determining the age of a monument. It has often been asserted that the larger the bricks, the greater their antiquity, and this is, to a great extent, true. Their size, however, is not of itself a safe criterion of age, and it is almost always necessary to consider their fabric as well as their dimensions. The *stūpa* H is particularly instructive on this point. It was built, as we have seen above, in the early Kushaṇa period and was enlarged on three occasions. The original structure is composed of bricks measuring 14″×9″ to 10″×2″; the bricks in the first casing measure 11½″×9½″×1¾″; and those in the second and third casings are 13″×9″×2″ and 17″×12″×3½″, respectively. It is open to suggestion, of course, that the bricks in the last casing, which belongs to the Gupta period, may have been taken from some dismantled Mauryan structure, but this hypothesis is not borne out by the fabric of the bricks.

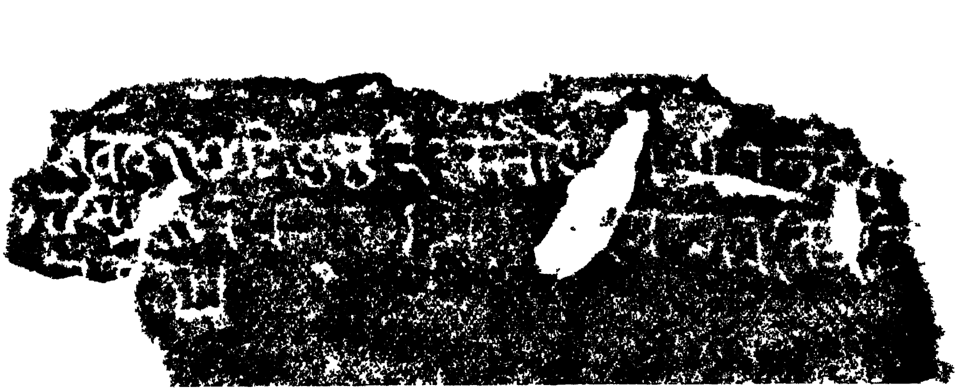
Another illustration is afforded by the building B. This structure dates, to judge from the antiquities discovered in it, from the early centuries of the Christian era and is built of bricks measuring 14″×10¼″×2¼″, whereas some other remains which came to light under this building, and must therefore be earlier, are constructed of bricks measuring 13″×9¾″×2½″. We notice, again, that the bricks of which monastery A is built are smaller than those in the northern extension of



a.



b.



c.

monastery G and its later repairs, although it is manifest that the latter must be one or two centuries later than the former. Lastly, we find that monastery N, which dates from about the 6th century A.D., is made of bricks which are nearly as large as those in the early Kushaṇa monasteries F and G. These and other similar discrepancies presented by the structures excavated at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh will be apparent from the subjoined table.

No.	Place where found.	Size.	Date.
1	Panahiāṁ Jhār	13″ × 9″ × 2″ .	Perhaps beginning of the Christian era.
2	Khaṛahuāṁ Jhār . . .	12″ × 10¾″ × 2¾″.	Unknown.
3	Ōṛā Jhār; irregular cells below *stūpa*	14″ × 10″ × 2″ 13″ × 9″ × 2″ .	Earlier than the *stūpa*.
4	Ōṛā Jhār; *stūpa*	11″ × 7½″ × 2″ .	9th century A.D.
5	Bhiṭṭī; *stūpa* . . .	21½″ × 14½″ × 3¼″.	Mauryan.
6	„ „ outer casing . .	13″ × 9½″ × 2¾″ .	Later.
7	Monastery A to the north of monastery round temple No. 1 . .	10″ × 8″ × 1¾″ .	5th or 6th century A.D.
8	Remains below west wall of A .	13″ × 9″ × 2¼″ .	Earlier than 7.
9	Building B to the west of temple No. 1	14″ × 10¼″ × 2¼″.	Early centuries of the Christian era (?).
10	Remains of monastery to the south-west of B and north of C . .	13″ × 9¾″ × 2½″ .	Under and earlier than 9.
11	Remains marked D . . .	13″ × 8¼″ × 2¼″ .	Earlier than the remains to its south.
12	Remains marked E . . .	14½″ × 8½″ × 2¼″.	Unknown.
13	Monastery F; later building . .	14″ × 9″ × 2″ .	Kushaṇa.
14	Monastery G.	14″ × 10″ × 2″ .	Contemporary with the earlier structures in F. Early Kushaṇa.
15	Northern extension of monastery G; later repairs	12″ × 9″ × 2″ .	Much later than F and G, perhaps 7th or 8th century A.D.
16	*Stūpa* H, marked *a, a, a, a*. . .	14″ × 10″ × 2″ 14″ × 9″ × 2″ .	Early Kushaṇa.
17	First casing of H marked *b, b, b, b* .	11½″ × 9½″ × 1¾″.	Earlier than 18.
18	Second casing, marked *c, c*. . .	13″ × 9″ × 2″ .	„ „ 19.
19	Third casing, marked *d, d, d*. . .	17″ × 12″ × 3½″ .	Gupta period.
20	Eastern portion of north wall of third casing	12½″ × 8″ × 2¼″ .	Later than 19.

No	Place where found	Size.	Date
21	*Stūpa e, e, e, e,* on the top of H	$9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$.	10th or 11th century A D
22	*Stūpa* J . . .	$14'' \times 10'' \times 2''$.	Contemporary with G and H. Early Kushana.
23	Inner chamber of K . .	$13'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.	Contemporary with G, H and J. Early Kushana
24	Well near K . . .	$13'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.	Later than 22
25	Monastery N in the Middle Area .	$11'' \times 8'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.	Not later than the 6th century A.D
26	Latest remains at O, namely, the cruciform *stūpas* . . .	$7'' \times 5'' \times 2''$.	11th or 12th century A.D
27	Remains below 26, perhaps a goldsmith's workshop .	$12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$.	Much earlier than 26, perhaps 6th or 7th century A D.
28	Platform in the northern portion of the long trench in the middle of the site ; 7′ below the surface .	$18'' \times 10'' \times 4''$.	Unknown.
29	Long wall in the middle of the central trench, 7′ 5″ below the surface	$14'' \times 10'' \times 2''$.	Do
30	*Stūpa* No. 18 in the southern area ; late structure	$12'' \times 9'' \times 2''$.	10th or 11th century A.D.

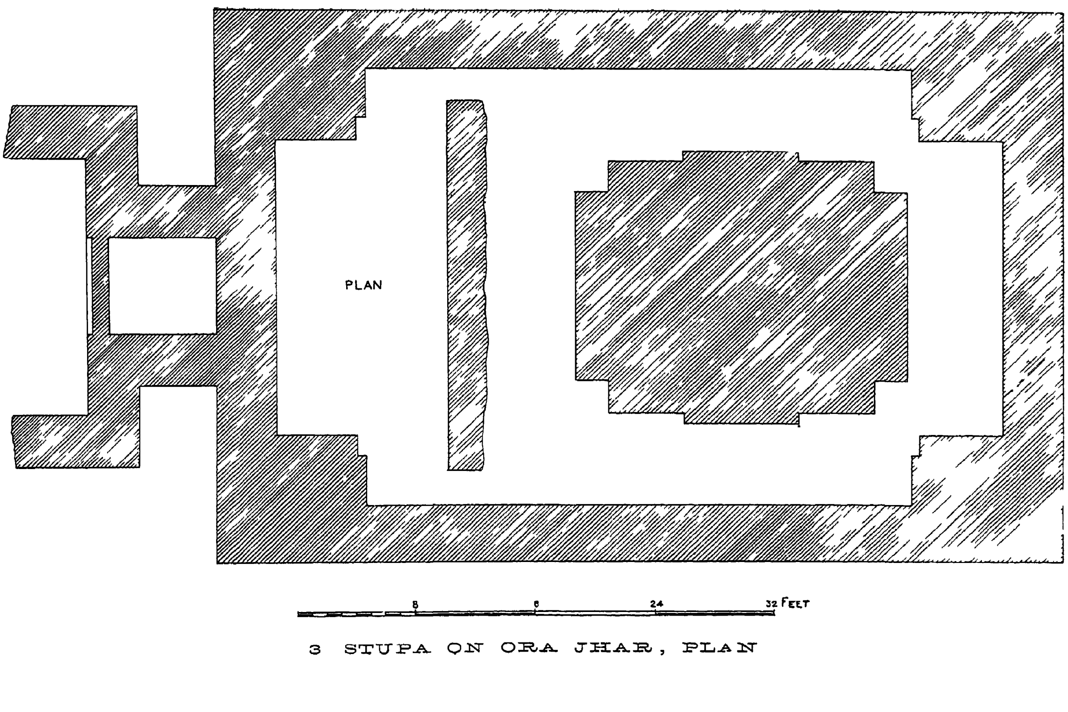
J. H MARSHALL.



1 BEADS FROM RELIQUARY IN EARLY STUPA
BENEATH NO 18



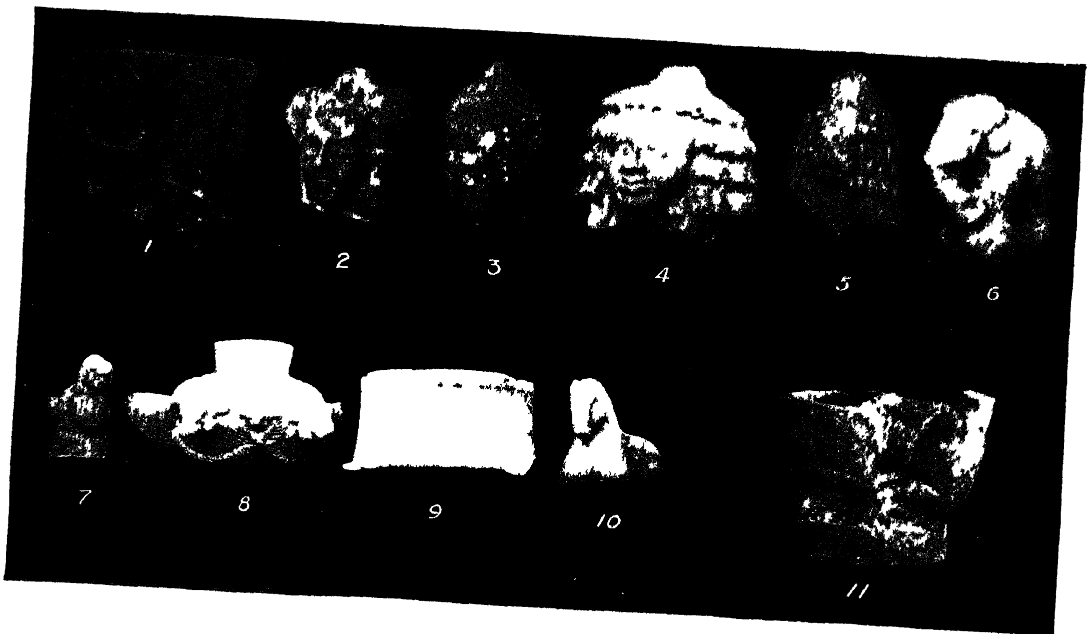
2 RELIQUARY FROM
STUPA ON PANA-
HIAM JHAR



3 STUPA ON ORA JHAR, PLAN



1. ORA JHAR, STRUCTURE ON TOP, FROM NORTH-EAST



2 TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES

EXCAVATIONS AT SHĀH-JĪ-KĪ ḌHĒRĪ.

I.—The Pagoda or Stūpa Mound.

IN the Annual Report for the year 1908-9[1] Dr. Spooner has described the excavations which resulted in the discovery of the Kanishka-chaitya and the relics of the Buddha. The object of the more recent operations was to ascertain the complete outline of the monument and, by clearing its immediate neighbourhood, not only to disclose the adjacent structures, but also, if possible, the steps which must have led to the procession path and, if in existence, the path itself.

As anticipated, complete clearance proves that the monument was of cruciform type, the square base 180′ in length, the projections 50′. That this form was widespread is certain. Small ones of this type have been discovered at Sārnāth by Dr. Marshall,[2] but all the large cruciform *stūpas* are in the Trans-Indus regions and would appear to be connected with similar monuments in Central Asia. Of this type are the Rawak *Stūpa* in Khotan, the Ahīn Pōsh *Stūpa* in the Jālālābād Valley[3] and also that discovered at Tahkāl Bālā[4] near Jamrud, only some five or six miles from Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍhērī itself. The circular bastion-like tower bases at each corner are, however, a unique feature of the monument under discussion—a circumstance which possibly may account for the attempt of the pilgrim Sung-Yun to explain their presence.[5]

From the highest of these bastions, namely, the one on the north-west, a trench was driven towards the centre of the mound in an endeavour to discover the procession path; but not a vestige of it now remains. An attempt to fix the circumference of the drum of the *stūpa* dome by following one of the radiating walls running from the spot where the relics were discovered, yielded as little result, for the wall was broken at a distance of 24′ from the centre of the mound.

Only part of the north main wall was found to exist and most of this to the west

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[1] *A. S. R.*, for 1908-9, pp. 38 ff, Plates X-XIV. [2] *Ibidem* for 1907-8, Plate XI.

[3] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II, Pl. XL and Simpson, *Buddhist Architecture in the Jellalabad Valley*, pp. 48 ff. Plate III.

[4] *Punjab Government Gazette*, Supplement, 18th November 1875.

[5] Beal, *Buddhist Records*. Introduction, p. CV.

of the northern projection which, on the west face, shows for a distance of 24′ 6″, the remains of a frieze of sitting Buddha figures between Indo-Corinthian pilasters with capitals of conventionalised acanthus (Pl XIV, *a*). These figures which represent the Buddha seated on a lotus in the attitude of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*) are of a very late and Indianised type and in both style and technique are far removed from and inferior to those recently discovered at Takht-i-Bāhī. Where what appears to be the main north wall meets this projection similar stucco ornamentation extends for 10′ 6″ to the west, but close examination proves that in reality the main wall of stone and brick lies 1′ 9″ behind the ornamentation which, moreover, ends in a distinct corner. Dr. Spooner, while noting that the main walls were everywhere quite undecorated, was of opinion that the stucco frieze originally ran along the main wall. He states [1] that "both the south-east and the north-east corners of the [western] projection are sufficiently intact to prove conclusively that the decoration originally turned the corner and ran along main wall as well." That it "turned the corner" is indeed true, but the discovery, at a distance of 10′ 6″ from the projection, of a distinct corner, with mouldings still intact, lying in front of the main wall does not bear out his view that *all* the main wall was similarly decorated. Moreover, an examination of the ornamentation at the south-east corner of the western projection shows that it is out of and in front of the line of the main wall, which unhappily at this spot is quite destroyed. It would, therefore, appear that the frieze of sitting Buddhas and Indo-Corinthian pilasters which ornamented the projections was continued for only a short distance on the main wall. How the remainder was adorned it is not now possible to say, but, according to Hiuen Tsiang, frescoes covered at least part of the surface [2]

On the east, where the projection is still clearly marked, only a few large stones still *in situ* afford evidence of the existence of the main wall.

Near the lower base at the north-west corner were found the remains of three small *stūpas* and a long wall running parallel to the north wall of the monument. The alignment of these little *stūpas* is curious, and one appears to have been partly demolished as if to allow for the building of the tower. These circular tower bases are undoubtedly of the same material and technique as the present main wall of the *stūpa* proper, but whether they formed part of the oldest structure on this site is doubtful, not only on account of the alignment of the three above mentioned *stūpas*, but also because the one at the north-east lies directly in the way of the foundations of a pathway which seems originally to have surrounded the monument, and traces of which can still be seen on the south and west (Pl. XIII).

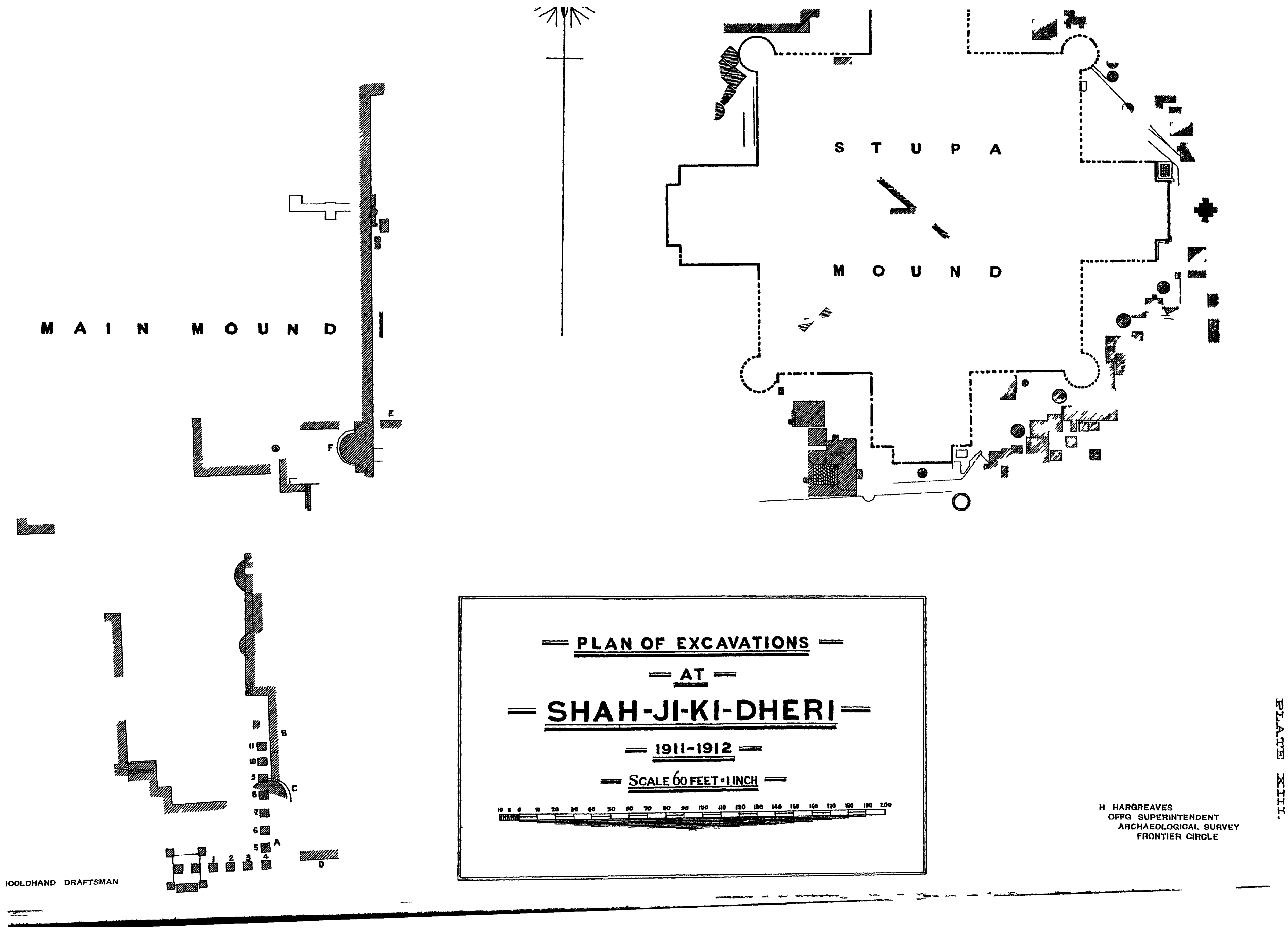
Dr. Spooner was of opinion that above the frieze something in the nature of a pavement might be discovered. The correctness of his surmise was proved by the discovery, at a height of 4½′ above the frieze on the northern projection, of a stucco platform, 6′ wide and extending 9′ 9″ from north to south (Pl XIV, *a*). Its outer edge had been a modillion cornice, its inner is marked by the bases of four small oblong stucco structures, 19½″ by 10″, fragmentary remains of which show conical forms resembling the finials of small *stūpas*. It is, therefore, probable that

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[1] *A S R* for 1908-9, p 47

[2] Beal, *Buddhist Records*. Vol I. p. 102

PLATE XIII.



MAIN MOUND
STUPA MOUND
A
B
C
D
E
F
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS
AT
SHAH-JI-KI-DHERI
1911-1912
SCALE 60 FEET = 1 INCH
IOOLCHAND DRAFTSMAN
H HARGREAVES
OFFG SUPERINTENDENT
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY
FRONTIER CIRCLE



(*a*) GREAT STUPA, NORTHERN PROJECTION, WITH STUCCO DECORATION



47

(*b*) MINIATURE STUPA, EAST OF GREAT STUPA

here as at Borodudur and Bōdh Gayā miniature *dāgobas* were used to adorn the main monument.

The votive *stūpas* found outside the main monument were, with one exception, either circular or quadrangular in plan, but 14′ to the east of what must have been the eastern flight of steps was found a small cruciform *stūpa*, a model indeed of the main monument (Pl. XIV, *b*). This little structure, the main walls of which are 6′ 7½″ long, was found less than 4′ below the cultivated ground, and vegetation had destroyed the greater part of three of the projections. The fourth, to the south, however, shows very clearly steps rising steeply from the edge of the projection towards the main wall which, rising perpendicularly to the same level as the top of the steps, springs from the second of two narrow platforms which run completely round the monument, except where broken by the steps themselves.

Now, Hiuen Tsiang tells us of two *stūpas* "engraved (*or* carved)" on the southern side of the steps, on the eastern face of the great *stūpa*.[1] The little *stūpa* recently unearthed is, indeed, neither carved nor engraved and stands rather to the east than to the south of the steps, and, while of the same shape and proportion as the great *stūpa*, it has nothing to indicate the existence of towers or bastions at the four corners. Nevertheless, the towers are possibly later additions to the main monument, and the little *stūpa* may be considered as lying to the south of one corner of the steps, while there is obviously doubt as to the translation of *lo c'ho* by "carved" or "engraved." But without pressing the point whether this is one of the two mentioned by the pilgrim or not, the little model enables us to visualize the magnificent sub-structure from which once arose "the highest of the towers of Jambudvīpa." It explains why the excavations have revealed neither steps nor procession path, and proved at once the correctness of Dr. Spooner's conjecture that above the stucco frieze lay a platform or terrace.

Five of the small *stūpas* on different sides of the monument were carefully examined, but no relics were discovered. They may, therefore, have been merely *ex-voto* erections, although there remains, of course, the possibility that their contents were abstracted by treasure-seekers ages ago.

Very little in the way of sculpture came to light. A number of small terracotta and stucco heads of almost grotesque appearance were discovered on the east of the monument, but there was nothing to indicate their original position. (Pl. XV.)

II.—The Monastery Mound. South-East Corner.

This—the larger of the two mounds—has twice before been subjected to excavation, once in 1875 by Lieutenant Crompton, R.E., when but little was discovered, and again in 1909.[2] The operations now recorded were commenced on the 7th of February 1911, but were greatly retarded by frequent and continuous rain. Moreover, the great depth of soil which had to be removed—soil of a peculiarly compact nature—combined with the distance to which it had to be carried, as the fields close to the mound were under cultivation, made it a work of considerable difficulty. Some

[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol I, p. 101, note 65.

[2] *Punjab Govt. Gazette*, Supplement, 18th November 1875, and *A.S.R.* for 1908-9, pp 56 ff.

idea of this may be formed when it is realized that the pillars at A (Pl. XIII) on the south-east were found 24′ below the surface.

The more recent exploration of the site had revealed four brick pillars forming what seemed to be the inside corner of a monastic quadrangle, and the first endeavour of the present operations was, if possible, to recover the main lines of this structure. To the north six more brick pillars were traced, but up to the present the most careful search has failed to reveal any continuation. Three were also found running to the west and they appear to continue in that direction but further excavation will be necessary to verify this point. In all, therefore, thirteen of these huge columns have been disclosed, but the endeavour to find the wall which would have been expected to lie behind them, if they were indeed the inside corner of a building, has proved unsuccessful. These brick columns are square in plan and, although varying slightly in size, are approximately $4\frac{1}{2}'$ square. A similar distance separates them, a distance remarkably small considering their peculiarly massive construction. Composed of bricks of a yellowish colour ($8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$), they are at a height of 2′ dressed to receive a moulding and where the stucco facing still adheres a double torus can be plainly traced. The stucco is undecorated and on the smooth faces of the shaft about 1″ thick. One of the columns shows a slight batter, probably the result of pressure, as the remainder rise perpendicularly from their bases. They range in height from a few inches above ground level to five feet, the one most damaged being that broken down by the excavators in 1875 when driving in their tunnel. They are situated at the greatest depth yet reached on the south-east of the mound, but after survey were found to be 5′ *above* the level of the main *stūpa*. The great depth at which they lie, due in part to continued habitation of the site, is also to be attributed to the fact that one of the trenches dug in 1875 ran parallel to the sixth and thirteenth pillars, and the excavated earth thrown over them gives an exaggerated height to this corner of the mound. A pavement, more or less continuous, of slate slabs and plaster ran between the pillars and in certain spots layers of burnt earth and deposits of charcoal, containing iron plates and bolts, furnished evidence of some severe conflagration in which had been destroyed heavy, bolted wooden beams.

During the clearing of the earth lying between the pillars running to the north and at a height of 6′ above the pillar base and between the tenth and eleventh pillars a single stone, seemingly in position, was left supported by a column of earth, until the north side could be examined. It was then found that this stone was part of a circular wall C running over the ninth pillar which is now only 2′ 3″ in height. This circular wall appears to be the base of some tower but only part of the foundation and a height of 2′ of wall remain, and less than half the circumference of the circle. The foundation is of *kankar* slabs, but the wall of brick and stone, while its style is that of the main wall of the great *stūpa*. As the circular structure is 6′ above the base of the pillar over which it runs and as between them lies loose earth and débris, it is obvious they are not coeval.

The excavation of this circular tower base disclosed a well-built and excellently preserved brick wall B running to the north parallel to the line of pillars and 3′ to the east but on a different level, its foundation lying $3\frac{1}{2}'$ above the pillar

bases. It appears, therefore, to have been built when the existence of the pillars had been quite forgotten. After running to the north for 47 feet, it turns to the west for 12 feet and then again to the north for 76½ feet where it appears to terminate but in no defined corner. At the south-west of the projection are what appear to be steps. The wall, where best preserved, rises 4′ 9″ above foundation level, and being built principally of headers of large flat tiles, 16″ by 9″ by 3″, has a strangely modern appearance, but the nature of the finds at its base leaves no doubt as to its antiquity. Trenches dug behind this wall failed to reveal any rooms and the back of the wall itself was far too rough to have been the inside wall of a building, so that it must be either a foundation or the retaining wall of some platform on which probably arose wooden or *kaccha* buildings.

North of the step-like projection this wall passes beneath the foundations of two semi-circular walls, of stone and brick (G. H.) structures closely resembling that already described (C). They also are 2′ in height and are connected by a wall of similar construction, 23′ 9″ long.

Thus in the one long trench there are three very clear levels of occupation, the lowest the heavy brick columns (A), the second the long brick wall (B), the highest the semicircular bases (G and H) and the connecting wall. In this spot, therefore, the structures at the highest level resemble in material and technique the main wall of the great *stūpa*, so that either the two lower levels are anterior to Kanishka or the main wall of the great *stūpa*, as we now see it, is subsequent to the time of that monarch.

Finds in this part of the mound were disappointingly small; for, with the exception of some corroded illegible coins, iron plates and terra-cotta figurines (Pl. XVI) only four, a small copper Buddha figure, a seal die, a bronze temple ornament, and a small terra-cotta Buddha head were of special interest. Buddha figures in metal are not at all common in Gandhāra. The one in question is 2½″ high and represents a haloed Buddha seated with raised right hand in the attitude of imparting protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). It appears to be of almost pure copper and, though now much corroded, gives evidence of careful workmanship (Pl. XVI, *b*). The seal-die, apparently of ivory which heat and pressure have rendered very brittle, is engraved in late Gupta characters with the common Buddhist formula, *Yē dharmā*, etc., and must have been used for making clay sealings, such as the one found here in 1909.[1] The seal-die is set in a copper circlet to which is attached a ring, but all the metal is much corroded. The temple ornament (Pl. XVI, *b*) remarkable for its solidity and finish, appears to be of bronze and is in excellent preservation. The square base is pierced for the insertion of a staff. Although it now appears as a crescent, such was not its original form, for behind is a semi-circular ring into which must have fitted another portion of the ornament, so that, when complete, it was most probably a trident or *triśūla* the three eight-pointed stars representing "The three jewels." All these articles which point to a late period were found along the face of the wall B. The small Buddha head (Pl. XVI, *c*) which appears to have been part of a relief was found at the base of the most northerly brick pillar. It still retains its covering of gold leaf and is of a type unusual in Gandhāra.

[1] *Annual Progress Report, Frontier Circle*, for 1907-8, p 20

III.—The Monastery Mound. East Face.

Failing to find to the north any further traces of the structures already described, it was resolved to explore the eastern face of the mound. Assuming that the main entrance to the monastery would be on this side—that is facing the main *stūpa*—a deep and wide trench was dug opposite the western projection. Here was discovered the long wall (K), which has been cleared for 112′ 6″. This runs due north and south and, while constructed in parts of stone and brick like the main wall of the great *stūpa*, is in others built entirely of brick. Its level is that of the main monument. At its northern end its termination appears to be a wall running east-north-east, but to the south its limits are yet undetermined. Immediately facing the centre of the main *stūpa*, this wall exhibits traces of several projections, the remains probably of the entrance to the monastery. To the south of these remains and close to them is a small brick *stūpa*, while the discovery to the north side of stucco fragments leads to the belief that the numerous little *stūpas* mentioned by the pilgrim extended even to the main wall of the monastery. Search made behind this wall in two places revealed no rooms, and here again the wall seems to be a simple revetment. In the centre, however, and 8′ behind it was discovered what seemed to be the foundation of some structure running west for 33′. This foundation or pavement is 4¼′ wide and at a distance of 8½′ from the east sends off a small projection to the south, 5¼′ long 5′ wide, and at its western termination a similar offset to the north, 8½′ long and 7′ wide. Without further excavation it is impossible to state its probable purpose. Close to the first offset a rouleau of sixteen silver White Hun coins was discovered. These will be published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S., Honorary Numismatist to the Punjab Government, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

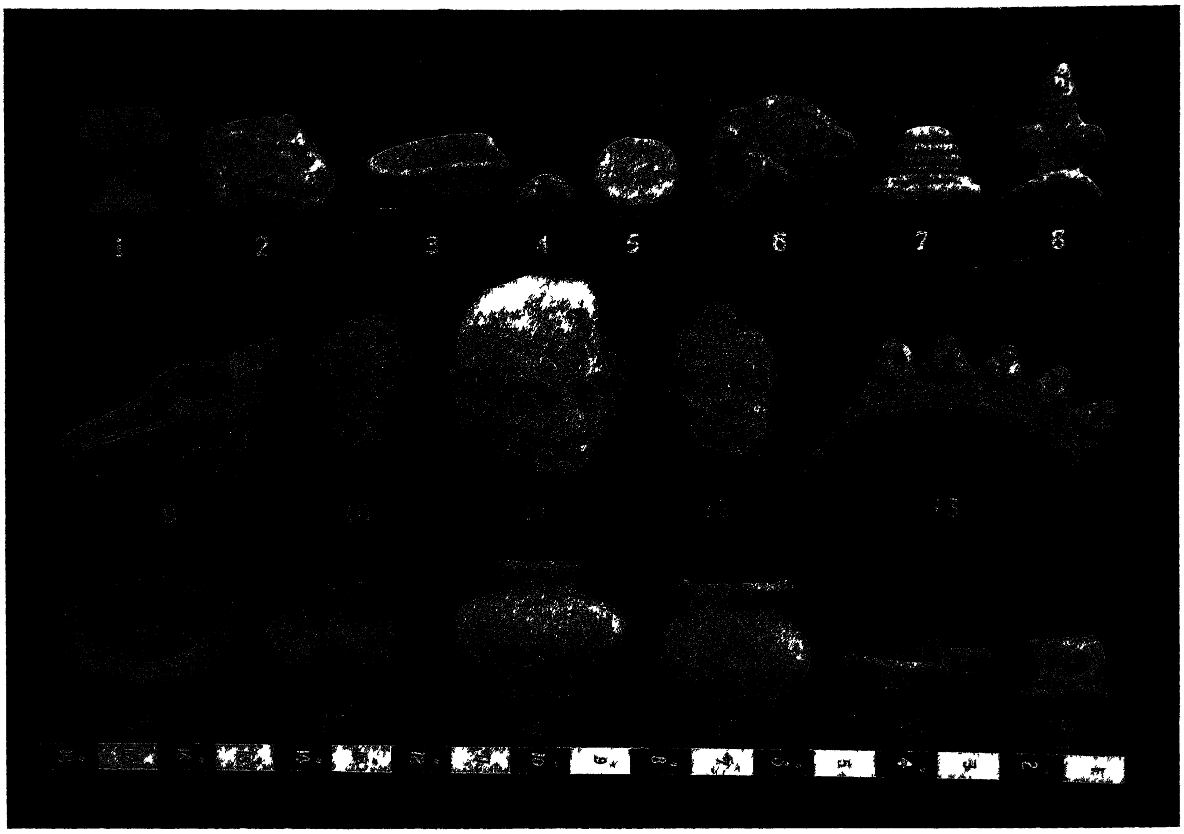
Near the present southern termination of this wall, but apparently quite unconnected with it, the foundation and base of a semi-circular brick structure (F) were disclosed. Its semi-circular base is 26½′, and walls, 7′ and 4′ long, run north and south respectively from either end of the curve. The walls, which are in perfect preservation, rise 2′ above the foundation level.

At the north-east corner of the mound where the greater height of the débris probably marks the site of one of the many towers which dignified this religious foundation, a winding drain (M), 66′ 6″ in length, was exposed. Its general direction is north and south, while its level is 9′ above the main wall of the monastery. It is square in section and made of flat tiles 1′ square.

Close to it search for earlier structures was rewarded by the discovery, at a level 7′ 6″ below that of the drain, of the corner of a strongly built and well-preserved stone and brick wall (N). Time did not allow of its complete clearance, but portions of it, 24′ to the south and 5′ to the west, were disclosed.

On the east face of the mound, as has been the case on this site in all previous excavations, the paucity of small finds has been remarkable. The White Hun coins mentioned above, a few stucco and stone fragments, some beads, spindle whorls, terracotta figures and pieces of pottery are the most noticeable. The only inscribed article was a small cylindrical piece of steatite, ¾″ in length, bearing on one end four

EXCAVATIONS AT SHAH-JI-KI-DHERI.



a



b

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

aksharas which Dr. Vogel reads as *Samantasa*, a man's name in the genitive case. Near one end is a hole much worn by attrition, so that this seal, for such it is, would appear to have been worn round the neck as an ornament.

Despite the poverty of finds, the site is of the greatest interest and, while at present the various walls and structures appear almost meaningless, it is certain that a more complete clearance would render plain that which is now so confused and inexplicable. There can be no doubt as to the importance of the site ; the chances of discovering epigraphical material are by no means remote and the general possibilities are unlimited. Sufficient evidence has now been obtained to prove the desirability of continued excavation of the site; the deciding factor is but the question of funds.

IV.—Finds on the Monastery Site.

1. Copper figure of the Buddha seated, with halo. Right hand in *abhaya-mudrā*. Ht. 2½″.

2. Ivory seal in copper circlet, engraved, in late Gupta characters with the Buddhist formula *Yē dharmā*, etc.

3. Bronze temple ornament, part of a trident (*triśūla*) of which the centre point is missing. Ornamented in front with three eight-pointed stars. Square base pierced for insertion of staff. Behind is a semi-circular ring which apparently held the now missing portion.

4. Fifteen miscellaneous beads including—
   - 2 blue and white glazed.
   - 1 polygonal, yellow.
   - 1 flat agate.
   - 1 greenish vitreous paste.
   - 2 green glass, one tubular, one irregular (modern ?).

5. Twelve corroded illegible copper coins.

6. Copper nail ; 3¼″.

7. Ivory style ; 6″.

8. Fiagment of iridescent glass.

9. Eleven earthenware spindle whorls.

*10. Two touchstones, *Kaswati*. سوٹی 3″, 2″.

*11. Head from Gandhāra relief ; 3⅛″.

*12. Terra-cotta figurine. Headless Buddha figure in attitude of meditation, *dhyāna-mudrā*, 1½″.

*13. Boar's head in terra-cotta 2½″. Apparently the spout of a *badhni* (بدھنی) or similar vessel.

*14. Head of layman, Stucco ; 4½″.

*15. Small head of the Buddha, Stucco ; 3½″.

*16. Grotesque terra-cotta figurine ; 2¾″.

17. Fragment of stucco head ; 3¼″.

18. Headless female figure, Stone ; 5″.

*19. Terra-cotta figure, a saddled horse ; 3″.

*20. Twenty-four earthenware *chirāghs* (چراغ).

*21. Terra-cotta vase ; Ht. 4″.

*22. Earthenware *dowāt*-like vessel, the bottom pierced with five small holes ; Ht. 2″.

*23. Small cylindrical steatite seal, one end inscribed with four *aksharas* ; read as *Samantasa*. Pierced near one end for insertion of a cord ; ¾″.

*24. Small copper bell (?) ; 1¼″.

* Finds illustrated in the Plates.

*25. Head of animal (cat ?), Stucco; width $2\frac{1}{4}''$.

*26. Lid *ḍhaknā* (ڈھکنا) of earthen vessel; $3\frac{1}{2}''$.

27. Fragment of iron plates and bolts. One bolt 6″.

28. Fragment of right hand of a figure, Stucco.

29. Eight fragments of shell bangles

*30. Lid, *ḍhaknā*, of earthen vessel. Edge incised. Rim shows hole for spoon. 3″.

31. Small wide-mouthed earthen vessel Ht. 2″.

32. Cylindrical fragment, of whitish steatite; 4″.

*33. Earthenware fragment, apparently from lid of a dish. Ht. $1\frac{1}{4}''$.

*34. Broken earthenware vessel, roughly incised with outline of a scorpion; $4\frac{1}{3}''$.

*35. Green glazed earthenware vessel with broken handle. Shape uncommon but probably a *chirāgh*; $4\frac{1}{4}''$.

36. Spout of earthen water-pot; 2″.

37. Fragment of stone relief, a bird (parrot ?) sitting on an ogee arch.

*38. Heart-shaped stone *chirāgh*.

*39. Fragment of ornamented rim of earthen vessel.

40. Fragment of large iron spoon.

41. Fragment of green glass from rim of a cup-shaped vessel.

*42. Narrow mouthed earthen vessel; $2\frac{1}{2}''$.

43. Small pointed bone ornament.

*44. Fragment of copper ore of remarkable purity. $1\frac{5}{8}''$.

*45. Terra-cotta figurine of horse. Two pieces; 6″.

*46. Fragment of lid of earthen vessel with crouching animal (lion ?) above.

*47. Elliptical light green glass fragment ornamented with three yellowish discs.

48. Terra-cotta figurine. Bull.

49. Stone *chirāgh*.

50. Small earthenware lid, *ḍhaknā*.

*51. Potter's shaping dabber, earthenware; $2\frac{3}{4}''$

*52. Small earthen vessel resembling an egg-cup; Ht. $1\frac{3}{4}''$.

53. Rouleau of sixteen White Hun silver coins.

54. Headless, seated Buddha figure; 9″

55. Fragment of arm of Bōdhisattva figure.

*56. Small terra-cotta head of the Buddha, covered with gold leaf; $\frac{7}{8}''$

57. Fragment of face of Buddha (?) figure Terra-cotta and bearing traces of gilding; $\frac{5}{8}''$.

*58. Dark vitreous fragment; 1″.

*59. Flat stone disc; $1\frac{1}{3}''$.

*60. Six fragments of glazed ornamented pottery.

*61. Wide-mouthed earthen vessel; Ht. 6″.

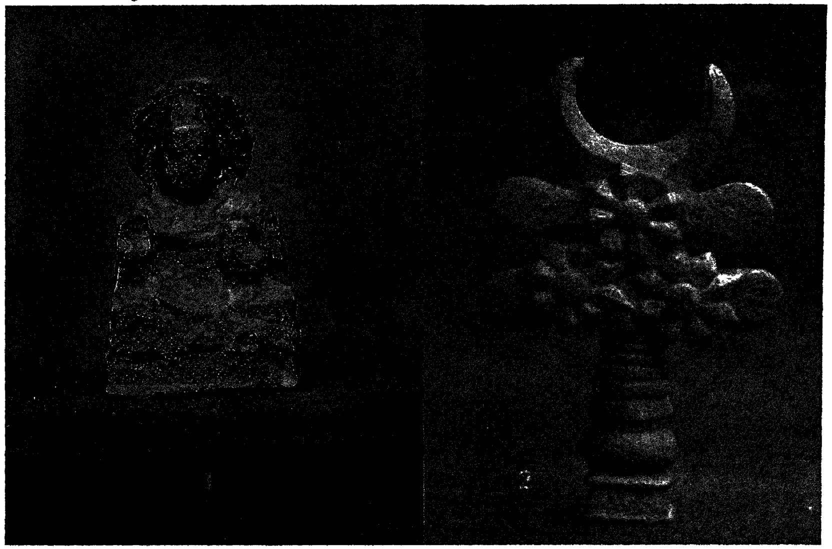
H. HARGREAVES.

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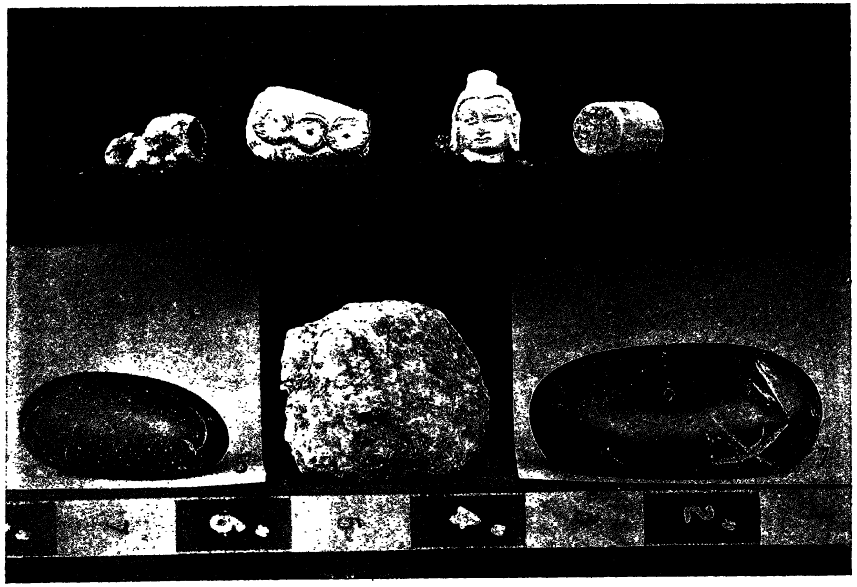
* Finds illustrated in the Plates.



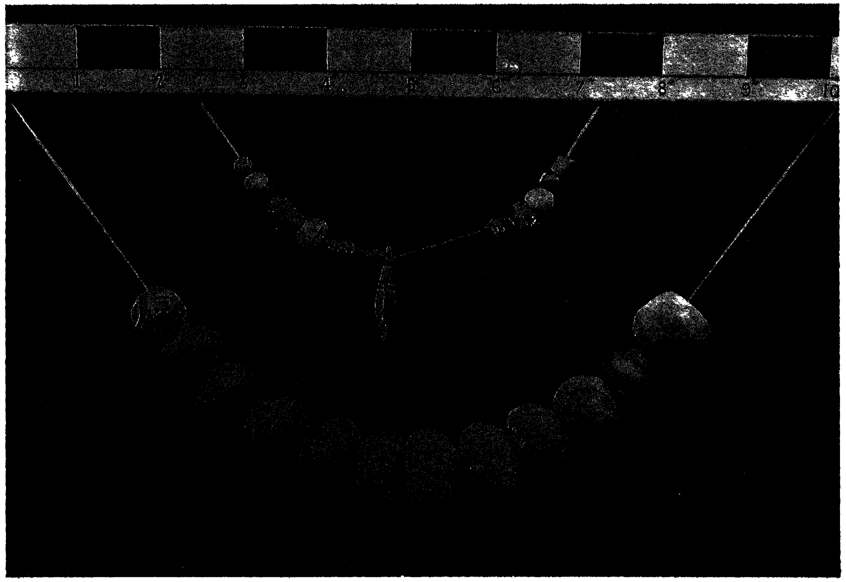
a.



b.

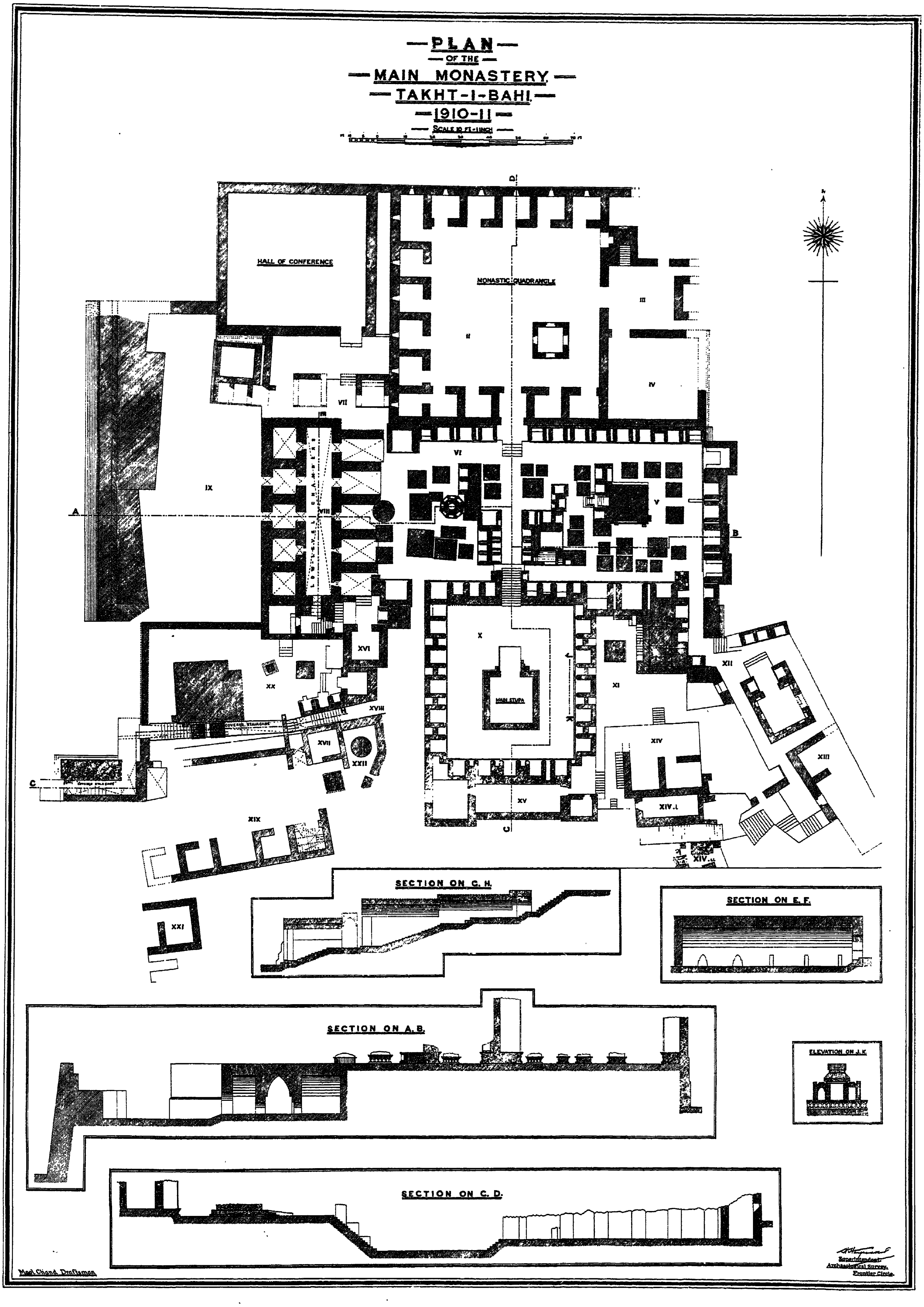


c.



d.

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.


PLAN
OF THE
MAIN MONASTERY
TAKHT-I-BAHI
1910-11
HALL OF CONFERENCE
MONASTIC QUADRANGLE
MAIN STUPA
COVERED STAIRCASE
SECTION ON C. H.
SECTION ON E. F.
SECTION ON A. B.
ELEVATION ON J. K.
SECTION ON C. D.
Superintendent,
Archaeological Survey,
Frontier Circle.

EXCAVATIONS AT TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ.

OF the many Buddhist sites in Gandhāra none is better known than that of Takht-i-Bāhī and no spot has been the object of so many excavations both irregular and systematic than this isolated ruin. In view of this it might almost be doubted whether anything further remained to be revealed, but the plan published with the last account of operations at that site shows on all sides, except the north, unexplored areas.[1] The clearance of one of these, that on the west, was the object of the present excavations.

On the plan in question part of this is marked "underground," but the correctness of that designation had long been doubted. Dr. Bellew,[2] writing in 1864, stated that the original entrances to some of the many subterranean passages were by arched openings on the western slope. Moreover, Dr. Spooner,[3] in the course of his first exploration of this site, had concluded that their being underground was apparently accidental, while his discovery of a window in the western wall during his further operations in 1909 fully proved the correctness of his previous assumption. It was, therefore, decided to continue the exploration of this portion of the site, and excavation has proved that the so-called "underground" chambers are not so in reality. While they may with propriety be called "low-level" chambers, they are not truly subterranean; for the removal of the débris lying between them and the massive retaining wall on the west of the spur exposed a large courtyard, 111′ by 40′, to which two arched doorways on the west gave access (Plate XIX, *a*; court IX in plan). These chambers constructed later than the retaining wall of the "Court of Many *Stūpas*" (court VI) are built against, but not bonded with, that wall. Their roof consisting of corbelled arches, 14′ high and covered with a thick layer of earth, is level with the said "Court of Many *Stūpas*." A narrow stair which turns to the west and again to the north, leads from the south-east of the roof down to the central passage of the chambers which are thus entered from the south through an arched doorway (Plate XX, *a*). The staircase or, at least, the part facing the entrance to the chambers, must certainly have been covered but the roof has long

[1] *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, Plate L.

[2] Bellew, *Report on the Yusufzais*, p. 132.

[3] *A.S.R.* for 1907-8, p. 133. *Annual Progress Report, Frontier Circle*, 1903-9 p 13.

ago been destroyed. There are, therefore, in all three entrances to the chambers, namely, the two doorways leading from the newly excavated courtyard on the west into two of the cells, and the entrance from the stairs on the south which leads to the central passage The old means of access to these interesting chambers, which gave rise to the belief that they were subterranean cells, was in reality a break in the roof at the north end of the central passage. In order to prevent damage by rain the roof has been repaired and the upper surface levelled (Plate XIX, *b*).

On either side of the central passage to which the south doorway gave access are five cells, those on the east being considerably larger than those on the west, the former ranging in size from 8′4″ by 15′2″ to 8′6″ by 13′3″ ; the latter from 11′6″ by 8′ 6″ to 8′ 6″ square. It would seem, therefore, that Dr. Bellew, who gives the size of these chambers as 8′ square and 5′ high, must have measured only the cells on the west. As excavation proves, their height is in reality 14′, so that 9 feet of débris have been removed from the inside of these chambers. This material was principally soft water-deposited earth and flat stones which had fallen from the roofs and sides. A few fragmentary sculptures were also found, but all appeared to have come from other parts of the site. When Dr. Bellew examined these cells, he obtained access to them by "small apertures" leading from the central passage. These were not, however, the real entrances to the cells, but breaks in the wall; for the original doorways were in his time hidden by the 9 feet of débris recently removed. His description might, nevertheless, almost apply to those recently disclosed; for their narrowness is remarkable, one being only twenty inches wide. Only two of these doorways to the cells, one on either side of the central passage, are in perfect repair, the one to the west with straight sides and flat stone lintel, the other to the east arched in true Gandhāra style. The cells on the east being built against the retaining wall, are exceedingly dark, the only light reaching them being the few stray beams which find their way through the now open doorways on the west and south. Those on the west having either doors or windows, could, however, have been used as living rooms. A few corroded copper coins—one, in poor condition, of Apollodotus—the few fragments of sculpture already mentioned, and some pieces of broken black pottery inscribed in Kharōshthī were found in the débris, but nothing to determine the special purpose of these interesting cells which may have been used either as places for meditation and retirement or as granaries. Some weight is lent to the latter view by the discovery of an inscribed fragment of black pottery, apparently part of a large jar which must have held grain. On the outer face are inscribed seven *aksharas*, the characters each about 5/8″ in height. These have been read by Dr. Vogel as *Saṁghē chadudiśē ka* . "To the (Buddhist) Community of the four quarters. ." The epigraph, therefore, very closely resembles the votive inscriptions on the jars, now in the Peshāwar Museum which were found at Chārsadda in 1903.[1]

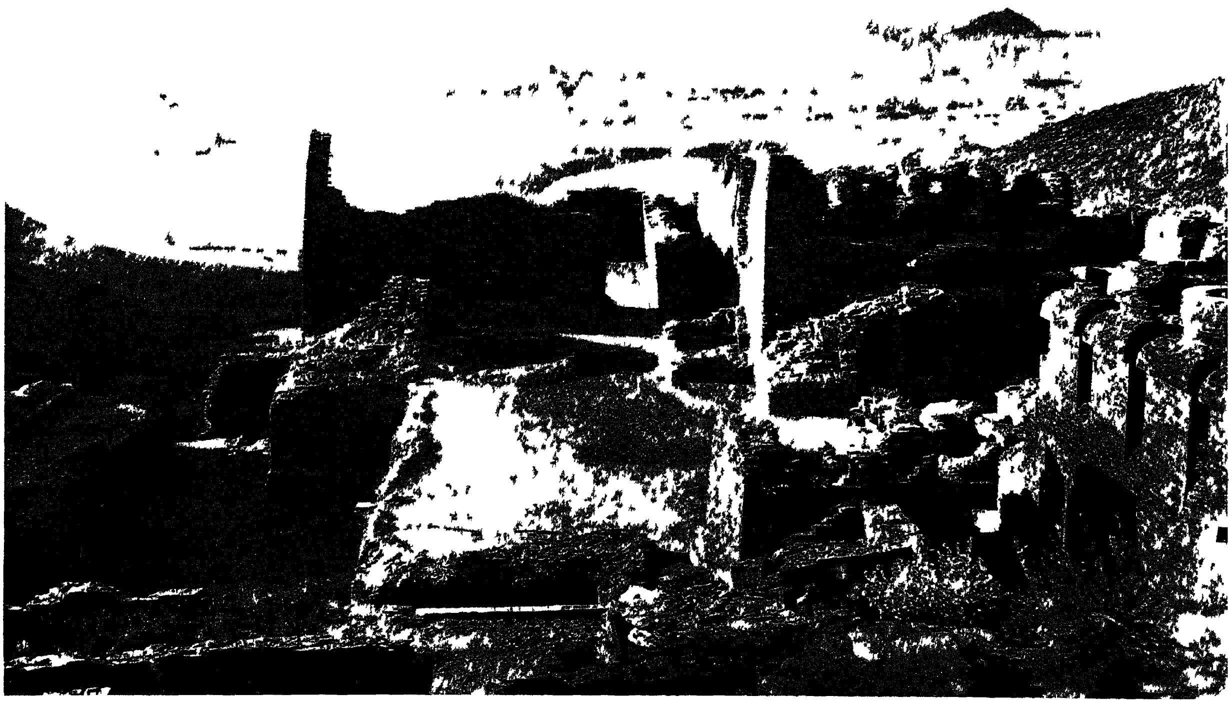
These low-level chambers are on the whole in a remarkable state of preservation, and arrangements have been made for the execution of such repairs as are necessary to ensure their complete stability.

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1902-3, p 163, and 1903-4, pp 289 ff.

EXCAVATIONS AT TAKHT-I-BAHI



(*a*) GENERAL VIEW, FROM SOUTH-WEST



(*b*) COURTYARD TO THE WEST OF THE LOW-LEVEL CHAMBERS

EXCAVATIONS AT TAKHT-I-BAHI



(*a*) WEST WALL OF LOW-LEVEL CHAMBERS, FROM NORTH-WEST



(*b*) WEST WALL OF LOW-LEVEL CHAMBERS, FROM SOUTH-WEST.

On the general plan of these ruins given by Cunningham[1] is marked, to the west of the main *stūpa* court (court X of the accompanying plan, plate XVII) an open passage (H) leading into "another vaulted passage, which descends towards the west in the direction of the valley." This long and curious covered staircase, (for that is, in reality, a more precise designation), after descending in twenty-one steps for some 60′ to the west, ended abruptly in a well-built platform overhanging the *nullah*. As it was improbable that this was its real termination, search was made for a continuation to the south. Here, after clearing what seemed to be a small room, 12′3″ in length, but which had been, in reality, a part of the covered way, it was found that the vaulted passage continued to descend in nine steps to the west for a distance of 21′ and finished in an arched doorway which seems indeed to have been its original termination and the western entrance to the monastic complex. From this doorway, in all probability, a pathway led round the head of the *nullah* to the buildings on the opposite ridge, but only further clearance can definitely settle the matter.

The roof of the arched way is of the usual Gandhāra type. Towards the west it is in disrepair, but measures have been taken to check further decay. The east end of this passage, being uncovered, was the natural outlet for water to the west of the main *stūpa* court. This had clearly been recognized, for a covered *pakka* drain runs along the edge of the staircase, its outlet being still in perfect condition a few inches below the top of the platform at the west end of the principal section of the staircase.

Cunningham in the plan already quoted marks a "supposed passage" leading from the south entrance of the low-level chambers under the courtyard XX (Plate XVII) due south to meet the open passage which forms the eastern end of the long arched staircase. This "supposed passage" would be, as it were, a continuation of the central passage of the low-level chambers. It is by no means impossible that such a way may exist, but at the present time there is no indication of its southern termination, nor anything in the appearance of the north wall of the open passage which would lead one to believe that such an opening had been carefully and skilfully closed. Besides, the regular rise of the steps where the supposed passage would meet the covered staircase rather militates against the idea. To conclude, however, that the existence of such a passage is improbable because it would pass beneath heavy structures would be rash in the extreme; for recent excavation in Court XX has shown that such was the confidence of the builders in the strength of their corbelled arches that they had no hesitation in building over them solid and heavy masonry structures (Plate XIX).

To the south of the low-level chambers lies the courtyard marked as XX on the accompanying plan. It is bounded on the north by the high retaining wall which forms the southern boundary of the courtyard IX lying to the west of the low-level chambers. To the west is a damaged revetment while on the east are two structures forming the western boundary of the passage lying between the main *stūpa* court and the one under discussion. On the south lies the open passage and a high wall, 40′ long. The greatest length of the courtyard is 70′, its greatest

[1] Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. V, p. 33, Plate VII. On Cunningham's plan it is Court A.

width 47′8″ Beneath the courtyard in a westerly direction runs the covered staircase described above. An arched gateway in the southern wall gives access to the court, the level of which is reached by descending a flight of six steps (Plate XXI, *a*). On the north side and almost immediately opposite these steps traces of three others were found, so that, in all probability, there formerly existed a way from the courtyard to the roof of the low-level chambers, over the roof, now destroyed, of the little room which lies between them. (Plate XXI, *b*.)

Seeing that underneath this court ran the vaulted staircase, it was not anticipated that in clearing this part of the site masonry structures would be disclosed. Great, therefore, was the surprise when directly over the roof of this staircase, two small *stūpas*, 4′ 6″ square, were discovered (Pl. XXII, *a*). Their type is, by no means, uncommon, but their wonderful preservation and elaborate decoration render them of particular interest. They are ornamented in stucco with two friezes each surmounted by a cornice. In the case of the one to the west which is the better preserved, the lower frieze shows four panels separated by Indo-Corinthian dwarf pilasters with acanthus capitals. In each panel is a seated Buddha figure, either in the attitude of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*) or with the right hand raised in the attitude of imparting protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). The upper frieze is more varied and shows five standing figures between elaborate double superposed pilasters, namely, a lower short square-shafted Indo-Corinthian pilaster, the acanthus capital of which supports a similar circular— or octagonal—shafted pilaster. Each figure stands as if under the flat roof of a *vihāra* whose sloping sides spring from the base of the upper pilaster. Three of the figures have lost the *ushṇīsha*, but all undoubtedly represented the Buddha in various *mudrās*, with right hand upraised (*abhaya-mudrā*), with right hand extended to the ground palm outward (*vara-mudrā*) and with the right hand concealed in the robe as is the case with Kāśyapa Buddha in the well-known Lahore sculpture (No. 1182) from Mumammad Nari.[1] The spring of the dome is also preserved and shows the familiar motif of sitting Buddha figures in the attitude of meditation separated by pilasters. Many of the figures still preserve their original red colouring and are as perfect as if they had but yesterday left the craftsman's hand. On the south face of the *stūpa* on the mouldings of the upper frieze is a stucco relief unfortunately much damaged. Traces of eight figures still remain, one on the left being an adoring male figure.

The *stupa* to the east is similar, but here sitting figures predominate and the superposed pilasters show a variation, the lower ones having circular, the upper square shafts.

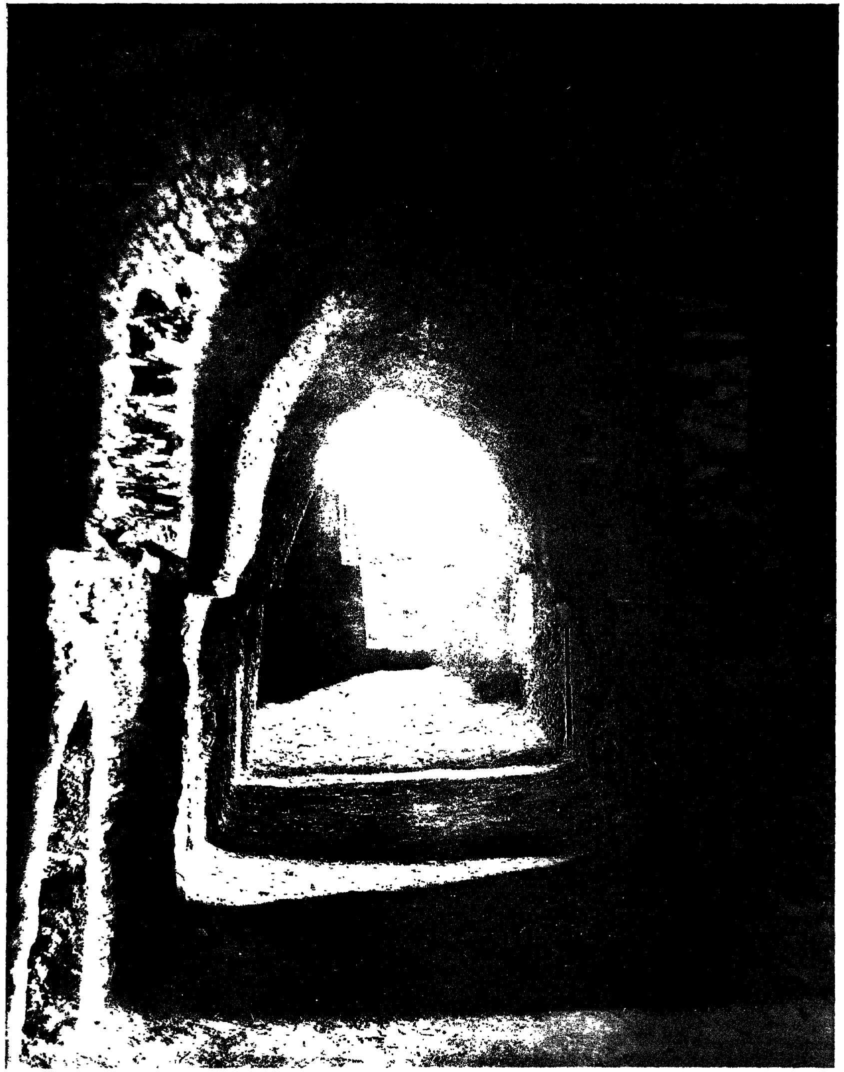
That these little *stūpas* have not been rifled is plain from the excellent state of their preservation. As a search for possible relics would entail their destruction, they have, for the present, been allowed to remain undisturbed.[2]

The greater part of the western half of the court was occupied by a large *stūpa*, 21′ square, larger, therefore, than the main *stūpa* at this site. The base is almost complete; but the frieze, except on the south, is entirely destroyed Here,

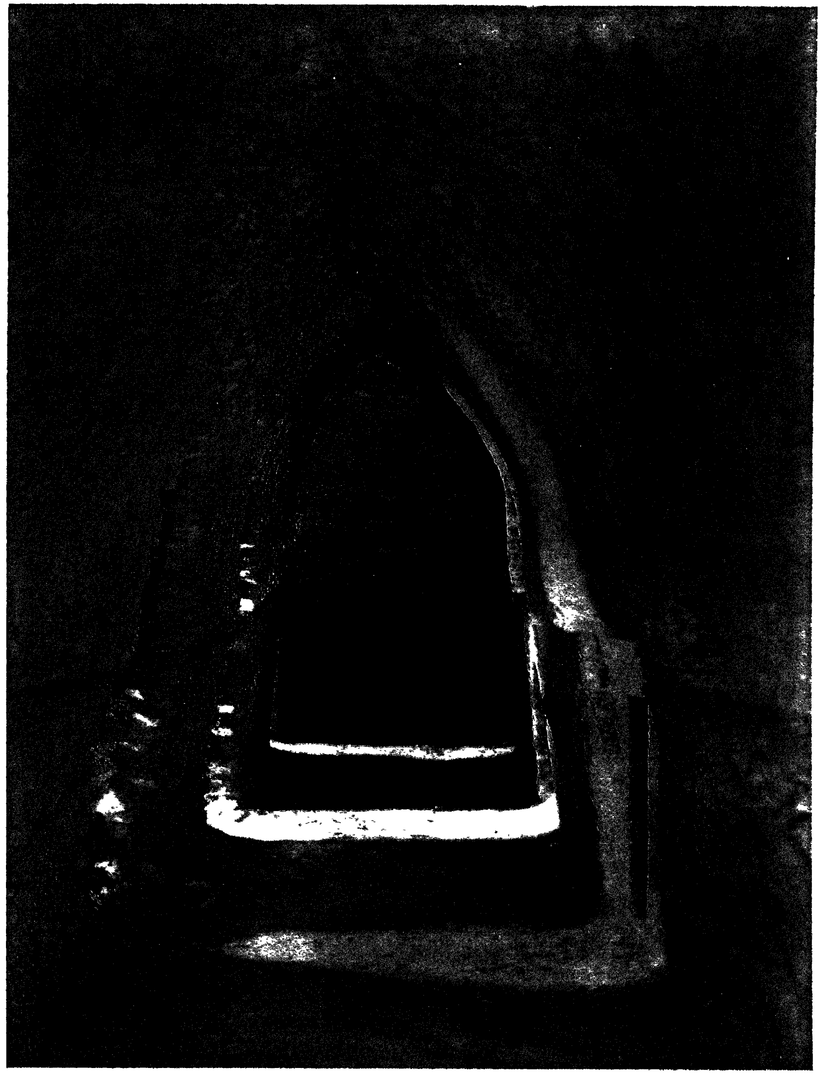
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[1] Grunwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India*, Fig. 82.

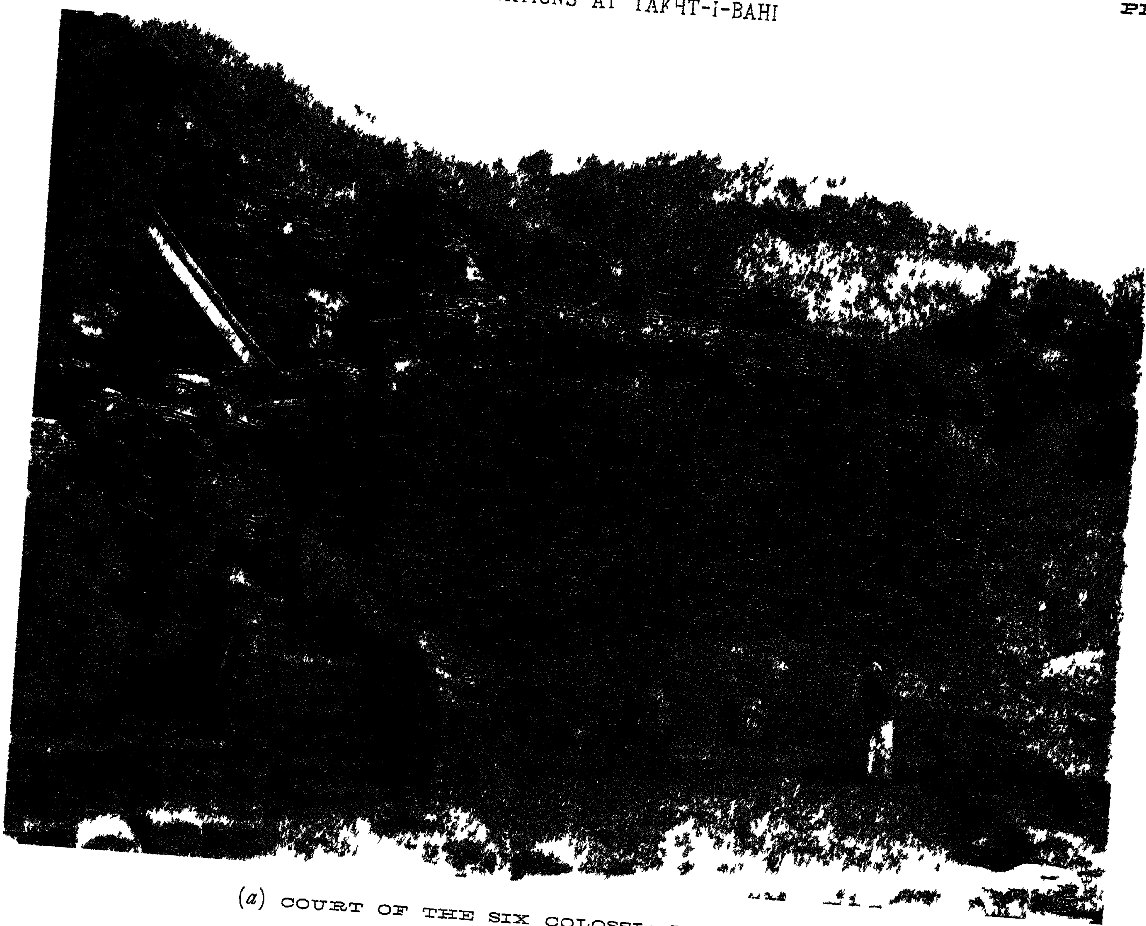
[2] Two chowkidars are maintained at the site and arrangements have been made to protect these monuments from the effect of the weather



(*a*) CENTRAL PASSAGE OF LOW-LEVEL CHAMBERS; FROM SOUTH.



(*b*) CENTRAL PASSAGE OF LOW-LEVEL CHAMBERS; FROM NORTH.



(*a*) COURT OF THE SIX COLOSSI; FROM NORTH



(*b*) REMAINS OF COLOSSAL BUDDHA STATUES.

to a height of 4′, the lowest terrace still exists. It is of the usual type—a low plinth with crouching lions supporting a cornice with plain mouldings above which is a series of nine panels separated by Indo-Corinthian pilasters, the whole surmounted by a modillion cornice. The ornamentation is entirely in stucco and, with one exception, each panel contains a well-modelled figure of the Buddha seated in the attitude of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*). The exception is the central panel which shows a variation entirely novel, for instead of a Buddha figure or legendary scene we have here what has been generally accepted as a representation of Kubēra and his consort (Pl. XXII, *b*).[1] They are shown seated in European fashion side by side, on a low throne, the female to the proper left. The right hand of the god rests on his thigh, while the left grasps a money bag, the left elbow resting in a natural and familiar attitude on the right shoulder of his consort who bears in both hands a cornucopiæ by her left side. The god is clad in a short garment terminating just above the bare knees. Over this is a sleeveless robe which covering the upper part of the body and held at the waist by a girdle, falls as a second and shorter skirt almost to the edge of the undervestment. The arms are bare save at the shoulders where short frilled sleeves of some undergarment are seen under the edge of the uppermost robe. On each wrist is a bracelet and round the neck a jewelled torque, the upper garment being caught near the right breast by a large circular brooch-like ornament. The hair is elaborately treated showing below a fillet a ring of spiral curls covering the forehead, while above is a *krobulos*-like top-knot. The feet are clad in buskins reaching to the middle of the calf. The right foot appears to have rested on a footstool, the left, slightly raised, resting against the front of the throne. The face is turned towards the female who is clothed in well-draped garments falling to the feet. A short tight-fitting bodice terminating just below the well-developed breasts covers the upper part of the body. The gracefully curled hair is dres ed high above the forehead and shows in front a circular star-like ornament. The cornucopiæ is held on her left, the lower end which rests in the lap being grasped by the right hand, the left hand supporting it near the breast. Indications of a nimbus round the head of the female figure still exist and apparently the head of Kubēra was similarly adorned.

As to the identification of this figure as Kubēra, there can be little doubt; for the money-bag is obviously the attribute of the god of wealth. His consort, be she called Hāritī or not, is undoubtedly a goddess of fertility. With this relief it is interesting to compare the pedestal (No. 353) in the Lahore Museum where a similar female figure is found in conjunction with a kingly personage in whose right hand is a spear. Dr. Vogel[2] has already noted that this female figure with the cornucopiæ occurs on the coins of Azes and has been identified tentatively as Demeter. Not less striking is the likeness of this newly discovered relief to the sculpture – now in the Peshāwar Museum —purchased by Dr. Spooner at Sahribahlol and published by Dr. Vogel,[3] which shows two almost identical figures—the

[1] Cf. *Revue Archéologique* 1912, II, pp. 341 ff, *Le Couple Tutélaire dans la Gaule et dans l'Inde* by M. A. Foucher who sees in these two figures not the *lokapala* Kubera and his consort but rather his *sēnāpati* Pāṭchika with his spouse Hāritī.

[2] *A.S.R.* for 1903-4, p. 255, Pl. LXVIII (*d*).

[3] *B. E. F. E. O.* Tome VIII (1908), p. 488, Fig. 1.

king with money-bag, the female with cornucopiæ, the only difference being that here the right hand of the male deity grasps a long staff. It is worthy of notice that, if the identification of this figure as Kubēra be correct, then the idea of this divinity as a *lōkapāla* has, for the moment, apparently been lost sight of; for the guardian of the northern quarter appears on the south face of the *stūpa*.

It would appear as if this large *stūpa* had been rifled long ago. A search for the relics it most probably once contained was fruitless and the nature of the débris met with in that endeavour proved conclusively that sculptural fragments which had formerly been outside the monument had, in that previous search, been buried 7′ below the present level of the top of the existing frieze. Some of these fragments, moreover, fitted others found outside the *stūpa*. Close by was found a *kankar* block in the form of three superposed rectangular slabs of increasing size, the lowest 3′, the largest 4′ 4″ square This had been the upper member of the *harmika* and from its size and weight could have belonged only to some large monument such as the one under discussion. The original ornamentation of this member, most probably stucco, had been destroyed in the overthrow or decay of the dome.

To the south of the courtyard is a wall, 17′ 8″ in height, which extends from the arched doorway some 40′ to the west (Pl. XXI, *a*). The purpose of this wall has always been a matter of conjecture, as it was improbable that the courtyard was roofed. The existence of the large *stūpa* within—a structure which, when surmounted by its pinnacle of umbrellas, must have been of considerable height—precludes such a possibility. The discovery, however, at the base of this wall of a low platform, 4′ 6″ wide, on which were found *in situ* and almost intact, six pairs of feet, the remains of as many colossal standing Buddha figures, leaves no doubt but that it was the wall which supported both the figures themselves and the pent-roof which, projecting to the edge of the platform, sheltered them from the effects of the weather. Each foot is 2′ in length (Pl. XXI, *b*) and between the separate pairs of feet were found two small stucco Buddha figures. Portions of the drapery and limbs of these six colossi were found in the débris and also the greater portion of two heads in good condition. From chin to forehead these measure 2′ 2″, so that, if anything like classical standards had been maintained, the complete statues could not have been less than 20′ high; but if the purpose of the wall has been correctly interpreted, they cannot have been more than 16′. In the case of most of the colossi of this period, there is a tendency to coarseness in the modelling of the face; but here, perhaps, less than usual, while the naturalistic treatment of the hair is particularly graceful and pleasing.[1]

Traces of the foundation of yet another *stūpa* were found to the east, and amongst the débris on this spot, in a lump of lime mortar, a small iron pot (2½″ long) with a curved handle was recovered Unfortunately this casket was broken, but it still contained in the middle of a quantity of powdered red earth a plain cylindrical reliquary, ¾″ in length and ⅜″ in diameter, made of gold foil. Except for a small quantity of red earth this was quite empty.

The sculptural finds included several Buddha statuettes, all of good type, the majority representing the Buddha seated in the preaching attitude (*dharmachakra-*

[1] On the colossi at the Rawak *Stūpa*, *cf.* Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 487 ff.

EXCAVATIONS AT TAKHT I-BAHI



(*a*) THREE STUPAS IN THE COURT OF THE SIX COLOSSI, FROM SOUTH-WEST



(*b*) GROUP OF KUBERA AND HIS CONSORT ON MAIN STUPA, FROM SOUTH

mudrā) and the pedestals showing a Buddha, Bōdhisattva or object of worship with kneeling adorers on either side. Of interesting fragments the most noticeable were a number of elephant brackets. In one case the elephant was six-tusked, in the others garlands adorned their massive foreheads, while a well carved full-blown lotus flower was held in the extended trunk.

H. Hargreaves.

THE SACRIFICIAL POSTS OF ĪSĀPUR.

IN June 1910 a discovery of unusual interest was made by Pandit Radha Krishna R. B., at Īsāpur, a suburb of the city of Mathurā (*vulgo* Muttra)[1] The locality situated on the left bank of the river Jamnā opposite the Viśrānt Ghāṭ was named after Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān,[2] Governor of Mathurā in the beginning of S͟hāh-jahān's reign. The alternative appellation of Hans Gañj, by which the village is usually indicated, is of still more modern origin, for, according to Mr. Growse, it received this name from Hansyā, a Rānī of Rājā Sūraj Mall of Bharatpur : the latter died at Delhi in A.D. 1746. "The village," Mr. Growse says, "is now that most melancholy of all spectacles, a modern ruin, though it comprises some spacious walled gardens crowded with magnificent trees." The same author notes in this locality a high mound of artificial formation known as the Duvāsā (Sanskrit *Durvāsas* ?) Ṭīlā, with some modern building on its summit, enclosed within a bastioned wall, part of which has been restored. "A small nude statue of a female figure was found here and there are also the remains of a *bauli* constructed of large blocks of red sandstone fitted together without cement and therefore probably of early date."[3]

Pandit Radha Krishna's discovery consisted of two stone pillars which he noticed in the bed of the Jamnā river, where they had become exposed owing to the fall of the river in the hot season. Not without difficulty he extracted them from the water and removed them to the local museum. These pillars (Pl. XXIII), as appears from the inscription on one of them, were originally set up as sacrificial posts (Sanskrit *yūpa*)[4] The inscribed pillar, which measures 19′ 19″ in height, is square

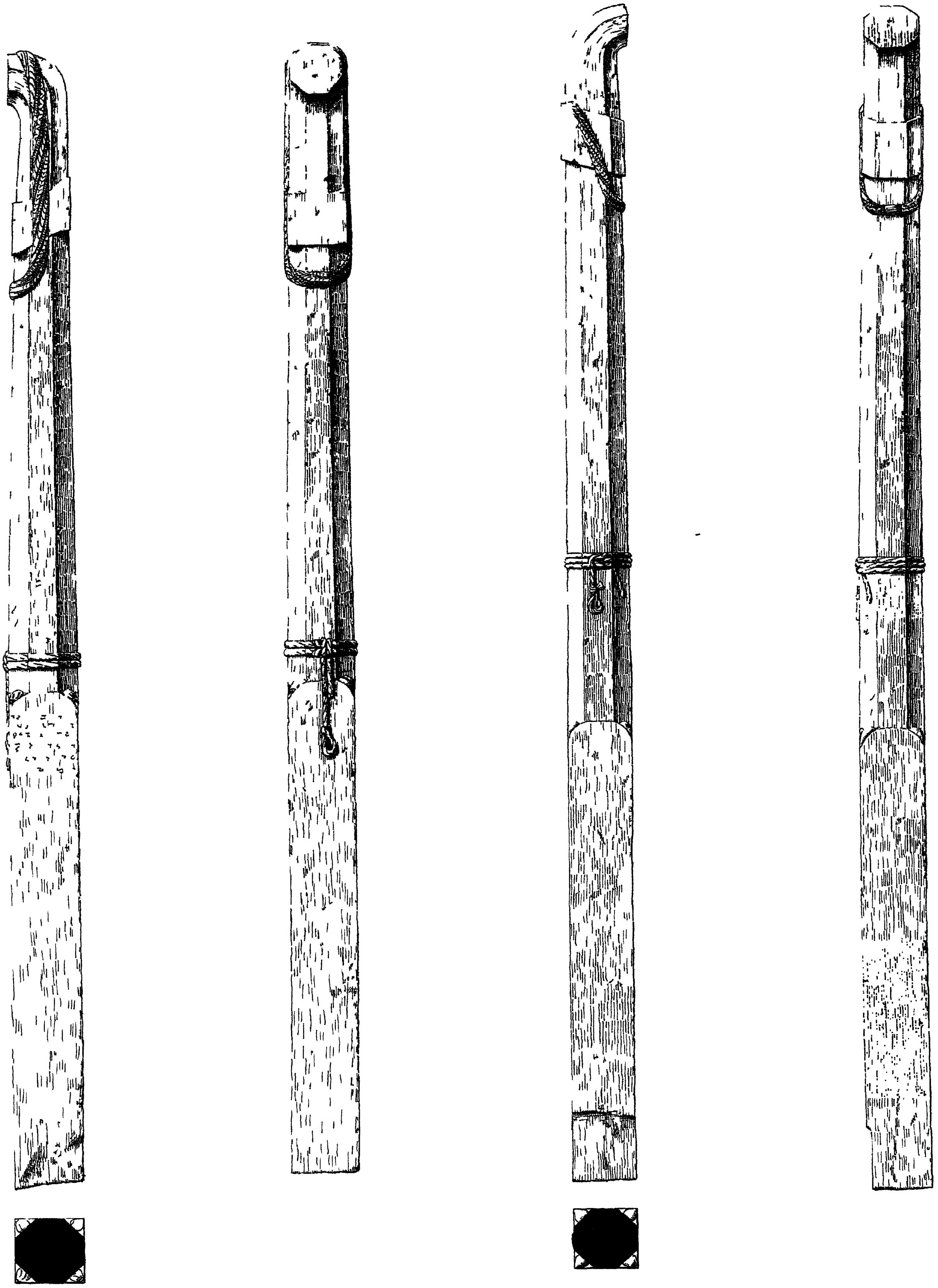
[1] For a preliminary account of this discovery, *vide* my notes *Vāsiska the Kusāna* in *J. R. A. S* for 1910 pp. 1311 ff and *Der Brāhmanische Opferpfosten von Īsāpore* in *Orientalisches Archiv*, Vol I, pp. 86 ff *Cf.* also my *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910, p. 198 (No. Q. 13) and p. 207

[2] On the meaning of the title *Tarkhān cf. Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I (transl Blochmann) pp. 394 f. and Vol. II. (transl) Jarret, p 346, footnote 3.

[3] F S. Growse, *Mathurā* ; *A District Memoir*, 3rd ed., Allahabad, 1883, pp 6, 121, 175 and 307.

[4] The Batavia Museum contains a sacrificial post of stone from Moeara Kaman, three marches above Pelarang, Koetei, Eastern Borneo It is numbered D2c and measures 1·55 m. in height, 21 to 26 cm. in width and 21 to 23 cm in thickness. It bears an inscription of eight lines in Venggi characters which professor Kern attributes to circa 400 A. D. It ends : *yūpō' yam sthāpitō vipraiḥ* "This sacrificial post has been erected by the Brahmans." Cf. Kern, *Proceedings Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam*, Phil. Section. 2nd series vol. XI, pp 182 ff. (with facsimile of inscription) and Groenevels-Brandes, *Catalogue Batavia Museum*, p. 372.

SACRIFICIAL POSTS OF ISAPUR



a.

b

SCALE

INCHES 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 FEET

up to a height of 8′ 7″ and octagonal above. Its width is 1′ 1″ and thickness 1′. About 5″ above the top of the square portion is carved a rope wound twice round the shaft and tied in a knot, the two ends hanging down and the longer end being provided with a noose. The inscription is cut on the front of the square portion of the shaft, not very far beneath the rope just described. The top portion of the pillar is very curiously shaped. It is curved towards the proper right, the side face of the curved top being cut off straight, as if it were to form an arch. At a distance of 2′ 4″ from the top of the column there projects a block, square in horizontal section, whilst a wreath is shown hanging down from the curved top itself.

The other and uninscribed pillar is, on the whole, very similar to the inscribed one, but exhibits some notable variations. It is 20′ 2″ high, the lower square portion measuring 8′ in height and 1′ both ways in horizontal section. At a distance of 2′ 8″ above the top of the square portion of the shaft is shown a rope wound thrice round the pillar, the two ends (one with loop) hanging down in the same manner as is the case with the inscribed pillar. In the present instance we notice also a projecting block and a garland, but the former is octagonal in horizontal section and the wreath is shown hanging down from it and not from the top of the pillar.

I now proceed to give the text and translation of the inscription on the first pillar (Pl. XXIV). It covers a surface of $12\frac{5}{8}''$ in width and 13″ in height and consists of seven lines of about equal length. The *aksharas* which measure from $\frac{5}{8}''$ to $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in height (excluding vowel-marks), are very clear, only a few letters at the end of the lines having been damaged.

TEXT.

(1) *Siddham* ll *Mahārājasya r[ā]jātir[ā*]jasya dēvapu-*
(2) *trasya Shāhēr=Vvāsishkasya rājya-saṁvatsarē [cha-].*
(3) *turvi [ṁ]śē 24 grishmā-māsē chaturtthē 4 divasē*
(4) *tri[ṁ]śē 30 asyāṁ pūrvvāyāṁ*[2] *Rudrila-puttrēṇa Drōṇa-*
(5) *lēna brāhmaṇēna Bhāradvāja-sagōttrēṇa Mā-*
(6) *ṇa*[1]*-chchhandōgēna ishṭvā sattrēna dvādaśa-r[ā]ttrēṇa*
(7) *yūpaḥ pratishṭhāpitaḥ* [!*] *Priyant[ā]m=Agnaya[ḥ*ll*]*[2]

Translation.

"Success! In the reign of the king, the king of kings, His Majesty, Shāhi Vāsishka, in the twenty-fourth (24th) year, in the fourth (4th) month of summer, on the thirtieth (30th) day—on this date, Drōṇala, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇ of the house (*gōtra*) of Bharadvāja and a Māṇa (?) chanter of holy hymns, while performing a sacrifice of a session of twelve days (*lit.* nights) has set up this sacrificial post. May the three Fires be propitious.

[1] The word *māna* I am unable to explain. If we were allowed to assume that at the end of line 5 one or two *aksharas* were lost, it would be tempting to read *Mā[thurē]na*. but the *sandhi* indicates that *chchhandōgēna* forms a compound with the preceding word.

[2] A similar formula occurs at the end of other inscriptions, *e g. Priyatti Bhagavā Nāgō* in Nāga image inscription from Chhargāon, now Mathurā Museum No. C 13 (*Māthurā Catalogue*, pp. 88 f. and *A.S R.* for 1908-09, p. 160). *Priyatāṃ dēvi grāmasya* in slab inscription in British Museum (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 240). *Prīyatām Bhagavān-Ṛishabhaśrīḥ* on Jain image inscription, now Lucknow Museum (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 386). *Priyatā[m] d[ē]vatā* in stone *liṅga* inscription, now Lucknow Museum (*A. S. R.* for 1909-10, p. 142). In the present instance the three sacrificial fires named *gārhapatya, dakshiṇāgni* and *āhavanīya* are invoked.

I now wish to discuss the points of interest connected with this inscription. From an historical point of view the date is undoubtedly the most important part of the document. Ten years ago Dr. Fleet [1] pointed out that between the Kushāṇa kings, Kānishka and Huvishka, there had been a ruler of the name of Vāsashka, Vāsishka, or Vāseshka. His assumption was based on two epigraphical records, one from Sāñchi and the other from Mathurā. The Sāñchi inscription [2] was discovered by Dr. Führer in March 1893 and edited by Dr. Bühler who read the king's name as Vāsushka which he supposed to be another name of the "third" Kushāṇa king Vāsudēva. The year he believed to be 78. At first, it is true, he was inclined to read the figure of the tens as 20, but at the suggestion of General Cunningham he finally adopted the reading 70. Dr. Fleet, however, in discovering the Sāñchi inscription, pointed out that there is no *u* vowel mark in the second syllable of the king's name and that the year to be read as 28 and not as 78. His conclusion was that the king in whose reign this inscription is dated could not be identified with Vāsudēva, but must have been a hitherto unrecognized ruler who reigned between Kānishka and Huvishka.

As on the occasion of a visit to Sāñchi in the end of February 1911 I had an opportunity of examining the original, I venture to insert here a note on the inscription in question. The inscription is incised on the lower half of a seated Buddha or Bōdhisattva figure, 15″ wide at the base and 9″ high, which I found among the detached sculptures arranged at some distance from the main *Stūpa* on the south-west side.[3] The upper portion of the image above the waist is missing and both knees are broken. The figure must have been very similar to the Buddha and Bōdhisattva statuettes of the Kushāṇa period found at Mathurā.[4] The attitude was evidently that of meditation *dhyāna-mudrā*, as there are traces of the hands having been placed on the turned-up soles of the feet. The folds of the lower garment are indicated on the legs, and the drapery together with the tassels of the girdle (*kāya-bandhana*) are displayed in the usual conventional manner on the top of the base.

The inscription cut on the front of the base consists of three lines, about 14″ long, of which the third line is for the greater part defaced. In the first and second lines some *aksharas* are indistinct. The size of the *aksharas* varies from $\frac{1}{4}''$ to $\frac{1}{2}''$.

TEXT.

(*1*) ....*sya r*[*ā*] *j* [*ā*] *t* [*i*] *r*[*ā*] *jasya*[5] [*Dēva*] *putrasya Sh*[*ā*]*hi V*[*ā*]*s* [*i*] *shkasya*[6] *sa*[*ṁ*][*20*+]*8*[7] *h*[*ē*] *I* [*di 5 as*] *ya* [*pur*]*v*[*āyāṁ*] *Bhaga* [*va*]

(*2*) *sya jambuchhācā-śailagṛi* [*ha*]*sya Dharmadēva-vihārē pratishṭāpitā Vira-sya dhitare Madhurika*

(*3*) [*Anē*]*na dēyadharma-pari*[*tyāgēna*]......

[1] J. F. Fleet, *A hitherto unrecognized Kushān king* in *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, pp 325 ff.

[2] It is No. 161 of Professor Luders' *List of Brāhmī inscriptions from the earliest times* in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X. Appendix, p 26, where all references will be found.

[3] I had the sculpture packed up and placed in safety in the neighbouring Dâk Bangalow. The construction of a hall for the preservation of stray sculptures has been for some time under the consideration of the Bhopal Durbar.

[4] See my *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathura*, plates VII and VIII.

[5] All vowel-marks in the first line are uncertain owing to the edge of the stone being damaged.

[6] The end of the *i* stroke of *si* in *Vasishkasya* is still traceable on the stone. It is certainly not *su*.

[7] The first symbol indicating the tens has the shape of the figure 20, but the cross-bar appears to be absent The top is broken.



The second inscription[1] on which Dr. Fleet's theory was based is a fragment found by Mr. Growse at Mathurā in the yard of the Magistrate's court-house. It contains only part of a date, namely, the year 28 with two syllables of the name of the king (in the Genitive case), in whose reign the record was dated. These syllables read *-shkasya*. Mr. Growse assumed that they formed part of the name *Kanishkasya*, whereas Professor Lüders proposed to restore them as *Hushkasya*. It should be remembered that Hushka is one of the three Turushka kings of Kaśmīr mentioned in Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* But as Dr. Fleet pointed out, the little that remains of the *akshara* immediately preceding *-shkasya* allows of a restoration *Vāsishkasya*, and in connection with the Sāñchi inscription this assumption is certainly most plausible.

Dr. Fleet also called attention to an inscription[2] from the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, now in the Lucknow Museum, which is dated in the year 29. Here also, of the king's name only the syllables *-shkasya* are preserved, but as of the preceding *aksharas* not a vestige remains, it is impossible to say whether the ruler's name was Kānishka, Vāsishka or Huvishka.

Dr. Führer[3] speaks of a record dated in the year 76 and referring to a king Vāsushka, which he found in the Kaṭrā mound at Mathurā, but recent excavations on this site have failed to reveal any trace of it.

Dr. Fleet's views, which at first were not universally accepted,[4] have now been vindicated by the discovery of the Īsāpur pillar which conclusively proves that between Kanishka and Huvishka there reigned a king of the name of Vāsishka. The titles assumed by him show that he belonged to the same dynasty. The inscriptions of his reign are dated in the years 24, 28 and perhaps 29, of what for convenience sake, we may call "Kanishka's era," and his rule appears to have been acknowledged both at Mathurā and Sāñchi.

It will be seen that the dates obtained for Vāsishka fit in well with those of the two rulers who, in all probability, were his immediate predecessor and successor. The latest inscriptions of Kānishka are the Suē-Vihār and the Zeda inscriptions, both dated in the year 11, and perhaps the Manikyālā inscription dated in the year 18.[5] It is not clear from the wording of the latter inscription whether it really falls in Kānishka's life-time, if we adopt the latest interpretation by Professor Lüders.[6]

The Ara inscription[7] in the Lahore Museum, which is dated in the year 41, refers to the reign of a ruler of the name of Kanishka, the son of Vasishpa. This king appears to be a different personage from the great Kānishka but may have belonged to the same house. It is strange that the date of this document falls within the limits of Huvishka's inscriptions (33 and 60).

From a linguistic point of view also the Īsāpur *yūpa* pillar inscription is of great interest on account of its being composed in pure Sanskrit. It is well-known

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[1] It is No. 33 of Professor Lüders' *List of Brāhmī inscriptions*. *Cf.* also my *Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum of Archæology*, p. 60, No. A 49.

[2] *Vide* Professor Lüders' *List* No. 34.

[3] *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1906*, pp. 1 ff.

[4] *Cf.* Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, second edition. Oxford 1908 p. 253, footnote.

[5] In my preliminary note *J.R.A.S.* for 1910, p. 1313, I stated erroneously that the latest known record of the reign of Kānishka is dated in the year 10.

[6] *J.R.A.S.* for 1909, pp. 645 ff.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* for 1908, p. 59.

that whereas the inscriptions of the Maurya-Śunga period are invariably written in Prākrit, we find in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇ period a mixture of Prākrit and Sanskrit. In the older epigraphs of this epoch the language may be called Prākrit mixed with Sanskritisms and in the later ones it is Sanskrit mixed with Prākritisms. It is only at the beginning of the Gupta period that pure Sanskrit comes to be regularly used for epigraphical records in Northern India. The earliest example in pure Sanskrit hitherto known is the Girnar rock-inscription of the Satrap Rudradāman, which belongs to about A.D. 150. The Īsāpur *yūpa* inscription must be considerably older. Even if we assumed that it was likewise dated in the Śaka era, it would be anterior by about half a century. The difference would be considerably greater, if we follow Dr. Fleet and assign it to the Vikrama era.

Whatever may be the true date we shall ultimately have to assign to Vāsishka, this much may be considered as certain that the Īsāpur inscription is the earliest record in pure Sanskrit hitherto discovered. The use of Sanskrit in the present instance becomes less surprising if we remember that, whereas almost all epigraphs of the period are either Buddhist or Jain, we have here a Brahmanical record due to a Brāhman and relating to a Brahmanical sacrifice. From the absence of inscriptions in Sanskrit during an earlier period, it would be rash to conclude that consequently this language did not then exist or that its knowledge was only restricted to some remote corner of India. The members of the priestly caste must have been acquainted with Sanskrit at the time when the Īsāpur pillar was engraved and most probably at an earlier period as well, although, as far as we know, they did not then employ it for lithic records.

The Īsāpur inscription is in prose and the language in which it is composed is perfectly simple. It is indeed far removed from the very artificial *kāvya* style used by the court poets of the mediæval period. But apart from some inaccuracies which may be partly due to the engraver, it is grammatically correct. The *sandhi* rules are sometimes observed (*Shāhē* -*Vāsishkasya*) and sometimes not *Māṇa-chchhandōgena ishtvā*).

The materials now at our disposal seem to indicate that the use of Sanskrit in inscriptions originated in Mathurā.[1] This would also account for its early adoption in the west of India, for there must have existed a close connection between the western Satraps and those of Mathurā. In fact, the title or clan name *kshaharāta* borne by Nahapāna occurs in a fragmentary inscription which was recently found on the Buddhist site of Gaṇēshrā near Mathurā.[2] It seems very probable that it was the example of the Brāhmans which induced the Buddhists and the Jains likewise to adopt the ancient language for their epigraphical records. How far this may have influenced the adoption of Sanskrit for the Buddhist scriptures is a question which lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

I have now come to the last point to be discussed—the relation of the Īsāpur pillars to the *historia sacra* of ancient India. Here I wish briefly to review the animal sacrifice with special reference to the use of the *yūpa* or sacrificial stake, as

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[1] Cf. R. O. Franke, *Pali and Sanskrit*. Strassburg 1902, p. 76. Lately another Sanskrit inscription, unfortunately fragmentary, has been found on the site of Māṭ in the Mathurā district. It contains the name of Huvishka.

[2] *J. R. A. S.* for 1912, p. 118.

we find it described in the "Brāhmana of the hundred Paths" (Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa).[1]

The animal sacrifice is offered to the gods Agni and Sōma, but the sacrificial stake (*yūpa*) is said to belong to Vishṇu (III, 6, 4, i). This is remarkable, as now-a-days, as far as I know, the worship of Vishṇu is never associated with the sacrifice of animals.

First of all, the carpenter (*takshan*) goes to the forest, selects a tree and cuts it with his axe, taking care that it should not fall towards the south "the quarter of the Fathers" (12).[2] He then pours ghee on the stump "lest the evil spirits should arise therefrom" (15). Regarding the size to which the tree is to be cut the text is rather vague, as in fact the stake may vary in length from five cubits (*aratni*) to "unmeasured" (26). As to the shape, the text is more definite. "It is to be eight-cornered (*ashṭāśri*), for eight syllables has the *Gāyatrī*, and the *Gāyatrī* is the forepart of the sacrifice, as this stake is the forepart of the sacrifice: therefore it is eight-cornered" (27).

A hole is then dug of sufficient depth to receive the unhewn bottom part of the stake. In front of it the stake is laid with the top towards the east and in front on the (north) side he puts down the head-piece or top-ring (*chashāla*) (III, 7, 1, 1-3). Ghee is poured into the hole "lest the spirits (*nashṭrā-rakshāḥ*) should rise from below" (10). He anoints the stake with milk and likewise the top-ring which is then fastened to the stake (12).

He raises it with, "With thy crest thou hast touched the sky; with thy middle thou hast filled the air; with thy foot thou hast steadied the earth;—the sacrificial stake being a thunderbolt, (he raises it) for the conquering of the three worlds; with that thunderbolt he gains these worlds, and deprives his enemies of their share in these worlds" (14).

He then plants it with another formula (15) and looks up at the top ring with the words, "The wise ever behold that highest step of Vishṇu fixed like an eye in heaven" (18). He girds the stake with a triple rope of *kuśa* grass to cover its nakedness and in doing so pronounces the formula: "Thou art enfolded; may the heavenly hosts enfold thee! may riches enfold this sacrificer among men." In saying this he invokes a blessing on the sacrificer (21).

A chip of the stake (*yūpa-śakala*) is inserted under the rope and the word *svaru* indicating this chip is explained by a fanciful etymology (*su-aru*="very sore") (24).

"With that part of it which is dug in he gains the world of the Fathers; and with what is above the dug-in part, up to the girdle-rope (*raśanā*), he gains the world of men; and with what is above the rope, up to the top-ring, he gains the world of the gods; and what (space) of two or three fingers' breadths, there is above the top ring—the gods called the 'Blessed' (*sādhvas*),—their world he therewith gains;

[1] The *Çatapatha-brāhmana in the Mādhyandina-çākhā with extracts made from the commentaries of Sāyana, Harisvāmin and Dvivedagaṅga* edited by Albrecht Weber. Berlin-London, 1849, pp. 287 ff. The *Śatapatha-brāhmana according to the text of the Mādhyandina School* translated by Julius Eggeling. Part II (*Sacred Book of the East* Vol. XXVI) pp. 162 ff.

[2] The Fathers or *pitaras* are the manes or ancestral spirits which dwell in the realm of Yama which is located in the southern quarter.

verily, whosoever thus knows this, he becomes one of the same world with the blessed gods" (25).

The word *yūpa*, by a fanciful etymology, is explained from the root *yup*.[1]

In the next *Brāhmaṇa* (III, 7, 2, 1) it is said that "there are eleven stakes, and the twelfth lies aside roughhewn." This twelfth stake is compared to "an arrow drawn but not discharged" (2) and the beast of the forest (*āraṇyaḥ paśuḥ*) is assigned to it. (3) Directions are then given as to the time when and the order in which the eleven *yūpas* are to be set up (4-8). From this it appears that they vary in length, the longest one being placed at the southern end of the row and the smallest one at the opposite end, so that the tops will incline to the north. It should be noticed that the row of *yūpas* is placed along the eastern end of the sacrificial ground (*Mahāvēdi*).[2]

The next two *Brāhmaṇas* (III, 7, 3 and 4) deal with the killing of the victim. In the initial verses the use of the stake is explained as follows:

"(1) There are both an animal and a sacrificial stake, for never do they immolate an animal without a stake. And as to why this is so:—well, animals did not at first submit thereto that they should become food, as they are now become food; for just as man here walks two-footed and erect, so did they walk two-footed and erect.

"(2) Then the gods perceived that thunderbolt, to wit, the sacrificial stake; they raised it, and from fear thereof they (the animals) shrunk together and thus became four-footed, and thus became food, as they are now become food, for they submitted thereto: wherefore they immolate the animal only at a stake and never without a stake."

It was evidently considered improper and inauspicious that the victim should be dragged to the stake by force. It ought to appear that it met its fate willingly.[3]

Having made a noose, he throws it over the victim and binds it to the stake, assigning it to the gods Agni and Sōma He then besprinkles it with water, making it thus sacrificially pure, and anoints it with ghee. (III, 7, 4, 1-3).

The next *Brāhmaṇas* (III, 8, 1-4) dealing with the "oblations" describe first of all how the knife is brought and how both the knife (*śāsa*) and the chip (*svaru*) are anointed. He touches the forehead of the victim with them, saying "Anointed with ghee, protect ye the animals," and again conceals the chip under the girding-rope of the stake (5). After the Agnidh has carried a firebrand round the victim (*paryāgniṁ karōti*) "lest the evil spirits should seize upon it," the victim is led to the slaughtering-place, the Agnidh preceding with the firebrand, the Pratiprasthātar the Adhvaryu and the sacrificer following the victim. The Pratiprasthātar holds on to it from behind by means of the two omentum-spits, the Adhvarya holds on to the Pratiprasthātar, and the sacrificer to the Adhvaryu (6-9).

"They then step back (to the altar) and sit down turning towards the Āhavanīya

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[1] The same etymology is given *Śat. Brāhm.* I, 6, 2, 1; III, 1, 4, 3; III, 2, 2, 2; III, 2, 2. 11; III, 2, 3, 28; III, 4, 3, 15.

[2] For plan of sacrificial ground see *S. B. E.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 475.

[3] The same idea prevailed with the Greeks and Romans. *Cf.* Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek antiquities*, 2nd ed., London 1898, p. 250; and Ramsay and Lanciani, *Manual of Roman antiquities*, 7th ed., London, 1898, p. 390. 'The victim adorned with serta and vittae, and with gilded horns, was now led up by the *Popae* gently to the altar it possible with a slack rope, all violence being carefully avoided, for an unwilling sacrifice was believed to be distasteful to the gods, and hence any reluctance on the part of the animal was regarded as of evil augury."

[*i.e.*, the eastern one of the three sacrificial fires] 'lest they should be eye-witnesses to its being quieted (strangled).' They do not slay it on the frontal bone, for that is human manner; nor behind the ear, for that is after the manner of the Fathers. They either choke it by merely keeping its mouth closed, or they make a noose" (15).

I need not describe the following so-called *paripaśavya* oblation (*i.e.*, "those surrounding, relating to, the victim") in which the wife of the sacrificer "revives" the victim with water to make it fit food for the immortals. In these curious ceremonies, which are optional, the sacrificial post plays no part. It is, indeed, worthy of notice that the victim is not killed while tied at the stake (as one would have expected), but that only some preliminary ceremonies are performed in that position. It seems probable that in a simpler and more primitive form of the animal sacrifice the victim was slaughtered at the stake itself, and that subsequently when the stake had come to be considered as a sacred object, the victim was led away to be "quieted" (*saṁjñapyamāna*) at the *śamitra*. In the whole ritual, as described in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, there is a very pronounced tendency to discard and argue away anything which was felt to be inauspicious in the killing of a living being.

I now wish to bring out the points in the ritual which throw light on the curious shape of the two *yūpas* of Īsāpur. In doing so, I shall have occasion to quote some other passages from the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* which deal with this subject.

In the first place it should be understood that the *yūpa* used in the sacrifice was made of wood [1] and that the stone columns of Īsāpur are monumental copies of such wooden posts, as were in use in ancient India. That which imparts to these two columns a particular interest, is the circumstance that they present us, not only the *yūpa* itself in "fossilized" form, but also the accessories pertaining to it.

As regards the *yūpa* itself, in the above account it is definitely stated that it should be "eight-cornered." The shafts of Īsāpur are indeed octagonal, except the lower portion which is square. In another passage of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (XI, 7, 3, 3) [2] it is said that the sacrificial stake should be "bent at the top and bent inwards in the middle." Why the sacred text should call this "a type of food (prosperity)," whereas a stake bent at the top and bent outwards in the middle is not to be "a type of hunger (or poverty)" is by no means clear. This much is certain that the Īsāpur pillars answer to the description in that they are indeed "bent at the top."

Both also show very distinctly the head-piece or top-ring (*chashāla*) which is repeatedly mentioned in the ritual.[3] It would seem that here the uninscribed pillar with its octagonal head-piece answers best to the description. For it is said that the *chashāla* is to be eight-cornered like the sacrificial stake itself, narrower in the middle like a mortar, and hollowed out so as to allow its being fixed on the stake. What the origin of the "top-ring" was, I do not know. Nor is it clear to me what is meant by the "wheaten head-piece" which is referred to elsewhere in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and which plays a part in the curious ceremony by which the sacrificer and his wife ascend the sacrificial post by means of a ladder.[3]

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[1] The *yūpa* was preferably made of wood of the *khadira* (acacia catechu) which hence *is called yūpadru*.

[2] *Op. Cit.* Vol. V, p. 124 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XLIV).

[3] चषालो यूपकटक इति कोशात् ।

The girdle-rope (*raśanā*) with the noose (*pāśa*) at the end is also clearly shown on both the pillars, and in the case of the uninscribed one, it is wound three times round the shaft in close agreement with the sacred text. It is, no doubt, the same as the "rope of Varuṇa" (*Varunyā rajju* III, 7, 4, 1) with the noose of sacred order (*ritasya pāśa*) by means of which the victim is bound to the stake.

The Īsāpur pillars show one feature to which I find no reference in the ritual, namely, the wreath hanging down from the top of the column. We may perhaps assume that it represents the garland which, in the first instance, was hung round the neck of the victim. In ancient Rome it was the custom to adorn the sacrificial animal with *serta* and *vittae* and the same may have been the case in India [1] There is a passage in the *Mṛichchhakatıkā* which seems distinctly to point to such a custom havıng existed ın ancient India also It occurs in the last or tenth act, where the hero of the play, the Brāhmaın Chārudatta, while being led away by two Chāṇḍālas to be executed, compares himself to a goat:

अंसेन बिभ्रत्करवीरमालां स्कन्धेन शूलं हृदयेन शोकम् ।
आघातमद्याह मनुप्रयामि शामित्रमालब्धुमिवाध्वरेऽजः ॥

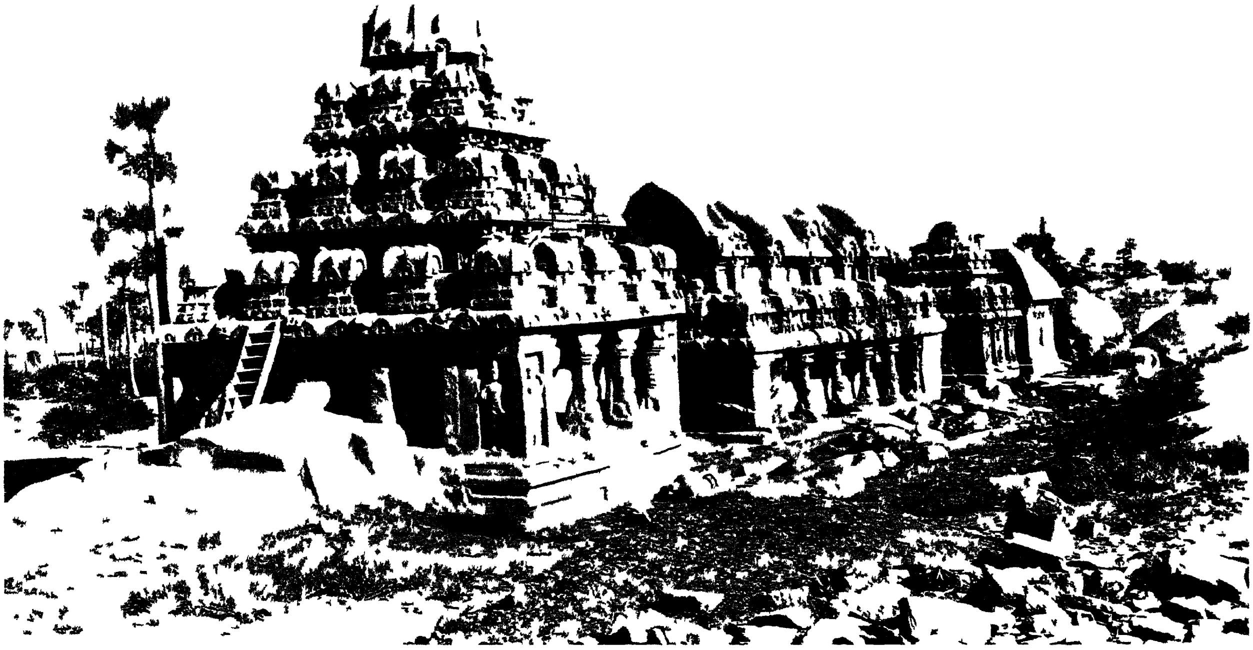
"Carrying a wreath of oleander round my neck, the stake on my shoulder and grief in my heart, I proceed now to the place of execution like a goat to the slaughtering place on the occasıon of a sacrifice"

J PH VOGEI

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[1] Dr. Venıs informs me that, as a common pıactice, the *mālā* is taken fiom the vıctım's neck and placed on the *yūpa* befoıe the sacrifice ıtself ıs made.

TEMPLES AT MAMALLAPURAM ("SEVEN PAGODAS")



(*a*) GENERAL VIEW OF FIVE RATHS, FROM SOUTH-EAST



(*b*) GENERAL VIEW OF FIVE RATHS, FROM WEST

I

ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON "THE SEVEN PAGODAS."

IN the course of his curious disquisition in which Manucci adduces various arguments to prove "that the Chinese were once lords of Hindūstān, and that they were ejected by the Paṭhāns," the Venetian traveller says: "On the coast of Coramandel, near the sea, there is also a rock called Mavelivaraõ (Mahābalipuram), distant four leagues from a place called Sadrastapataõ (Sadrasta-pata-nam or Sadrās), where there are many sculptured figures resembling Chinese."

Since the days of Manucci, who was one of the first of Europeans to draw attention to the sculptures of Māmallapuram or "the Seven Pagodas" (as the place is now usually called), there must have been many a traveller whose curiosity was roused by these wonderful rock carvings and who speculated on their origin. However absurd Manucci's position in ascribing the Māmallapuram sculptures to the Chinese may appear to us in the light of our present knowledge, the Venetian did not go far astray, when he recognised in this group of temples something unique, different from any other ancient remains found in India. It is only quite recently that epigraphical research has established the true origin and history of "the Seven Pagodas."

The architectural interest of the group of rock-cut temples of Māmallapuram has been fully explained by James Fergusson.[1] But apart from the architectural importance they possess as the prototypes of Dravidian architecture, they are of great interest from the iconographical point of view. It is to this aspect that I wish to draw attention in the present paper, the outcome of a one day's visit to the place. It is true that several, partly successful, attempts have been made at explaining the numerous images of deities with which these temples are adorned.[2] In general, however, previous writers placed too great a reliance on local traditions and

[1] J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* Revised Edition, Vol. I, pp. 327-342. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India,* London, 1880, pp. 105-61.

[2] Cf. *Descriptive and Historical Papers relating to the Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast* by W. Chambers, J. Goldingham, B. G. Babington, G. W. Mahon, J. Braddock, W Taylor, W. Elliot, C. Gubbins. Edited by M. W. Carr, Madras, 1869 (Folio and Octavo). In the course of my paper I quote the octavo edition. V. A. Smith, *History of fine art in India and Ceylon,* Oxford, 1911, pp. 220 ff.

native interpretations, which, strange though it may seem, form by no means a safe guidance through the labyrinth of Brahmanical iconography. In the present instance there was especial room for misconceptions, as the representations of deities found at Māmallapuram differ in many respects from the conventional types of later ages. Yet there can be little doubt that, just as the temples of this group are the prototypes of the elaborate edifices of the 16th and 17th centuries, likewise the debased images which decorate these later buildings are derived from the simple forms of the 7th century as exemplified on the Pallava Temples of the Madras coast.

In the first place I wish to draw attention to the so-called Raths, the group of five rock-cut temples named after the Pāṇḍava brothers and their common spouse Draupadī (Pl. XXV). The southernmost temple of the group is by far the most elaborate and, presumably on that account, popular tradition has connected it with the name of Dharmarāja, ("King of the Sacred Law"), the well-known title of Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas (Pl. XXVI, *a*). This temple is provided with three tiers of niches containing figures of deities. Unfortunately the position of those of the middle and upper tiers does not allow of their being photographed. In the lowermost row which decorates the body of the temple there are two figures on each side, making altogether eight figures, which are nearly all two-armed and appear to belong to the Śaiva Pantheon. Among them we notice on the back (east side) a four-armed figure of Śiva Ardhanārīśa, his right half being male and the left female.[1] It is one of those curious creations of the Indian mind which are due rather to phantasy than to good taste. The upper right hand holds a hatchet, the upper left an indistinct object. The other two hands are empty, the right one being raised in the gesture of imparting protection (*abhaya*). It will be noticed that a cobra serves as a girdle.

The central and upper tiers of image niches decorate the roof. In the central row we have on the south side seven figures. The deep niche in the centre enshrines a standing Vishṇu figure, with high tiara, which has four arms and holds a wheel in the upper right and a conch in the upper left hand. The two other hands are empty.

The adjoining shallow panel to the proper right contains a four-armed god leaning on a male attendant, slightly stooping. A similar group is found on the north wall of Arjuna's Rath.

The corresponding shallow panel to the proper left contains a four-armed male leaning on a dwarf and holding a staff (or perhaps a flute) in both hands. The other right hand holds an indistinct object, perhaps a thunderbolt The second left hand is placed on the head of the attending dwarf.

The next panel to the proper right shows a two-armed male defeating a three-hooded Nāga whose snake-tail he holds with both hands. Both figures are two-armed. The group possibly represents Kṛishṇa vanquishing the Kaliya Nāga.

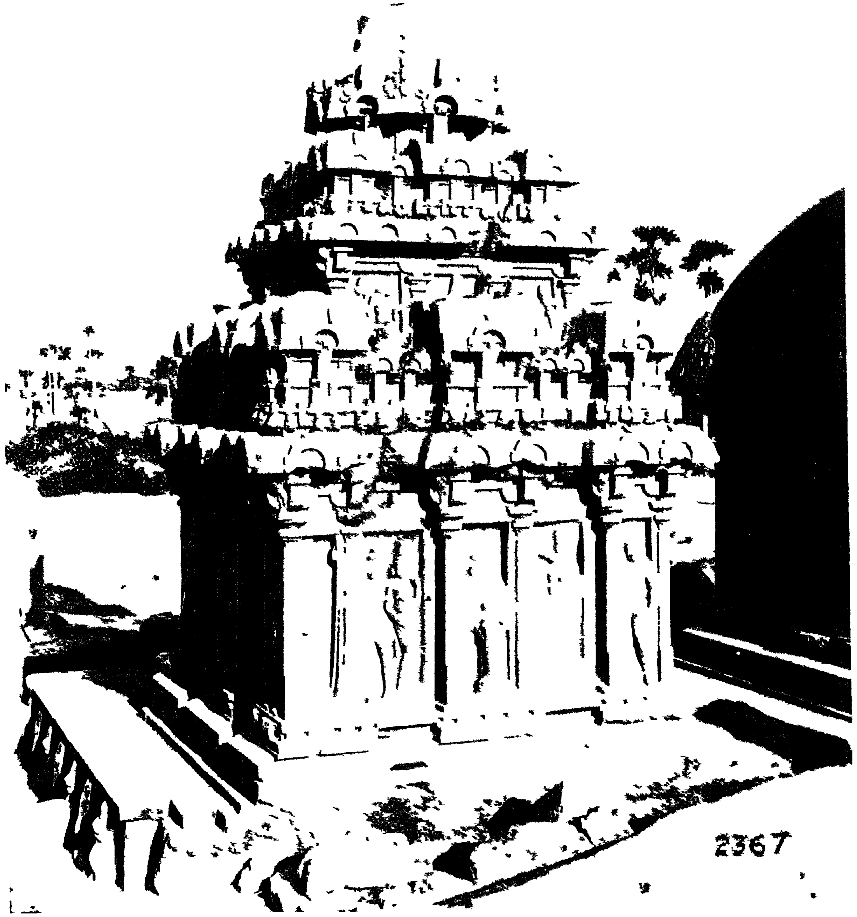
The corresponding figure to the proper left is a four-armed Śiva who holds a cobra and a trident in his left upper and lower hands respectively and a hatchet in his right upper. The other right hand is broken. He wears a high head-dress with crescent and skull. A male figure is prostrated at his feet.

[1] Carr, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI, last figure.

TEMPLES AT MAMALLAPURAM ("SEVEN PAGODAS").



(*a*) RATH OF DHARMARAJA; FROM NORTH-EAST.



(*b*) RATH OF ARJUNA; FROM SOUTH-EAST.

In the panel on the proper right end there is a four-armed male deity holding a sword in one of his right hands. The other emblems are uncertain. One of his left hands rests on his hip.

On the proper left end we have a four-armed figure who carries a rosary (*akshamālā*, shown standing up !) in his right upper hand and a fly-whisk (*chāmara*) in his left upper hand. The other left hand is placed on his hip. The object in his second right hand is irrecognisable.

On the west side are only four figures, among which I wish to note the one at the southern end, a two-armed female standing with what looks like a basket of flowers.

On the east side there is an unfinished figure, male apparently, with high conical head-dress. Further a four-armed guardian holding in his right hands a staff and an indistinct object, and in his left hands a fly-whisk (*chāmara*) and oval disk (?).

On the north wall the deeply carved central panel contains a four-armed standing figure of Vishṇu, holding in his upper right hand a wheel, whereas on his left he carries a kneeling female figure worshipping him. The two remaining hands are held in front of his breast.

Adjoining the central panel to the proper right we notice again that curious group found on the south side and also on Arjuna's Rath (north side). The present relief is slightly different. The main figure is evidently Vishṇu, as appears from his high tiara and the emblems—the wheel (*chakra*) as the conch-shell (*śaṅkha*)—in his upper right and left hands respectively. The other left hand rests on the shoulder of the attendant who is stooping and presses two fingers of his right hand, on his lips, the left being placed on his knee. Is this posture meant to indicate that he is panting under the weight of the deity whom he is supporting?

An attendant in a similar attitude supports Baladeva in the large rock-cut relief of Kṛishṇa lifting the Gōvardhan Mountain.[1]

The next figure to the proper right is a four-armed Śiva with a skull in his braided hair-tuft (*jaṭā*) dancing over a defeated demon.

On the proper right end we find Śiva again, leaning on his vehicle, the bull. He is four-armed. In his upper right and left hands he holds a *ḍamaru* and a rosary (*akshamālā*) or noose (*pāśa*). The other two hands are empty, the right rests on the bull.

The shallow panel adjoining the central one on the proper left contains two male figures. The main personage is four-armed and stands with a bow in one of his left hands, the other left hand being placed on the shoulder of his attendant. The bow suggests Rāma, but is he ever figured with four arms? If so, the attendant would probably be his brother Lakshmaṇa.

The next figure which is placed in a deep panel is again Śiva with four arms, two of which hold a hatchet or battle-axe to the right and a trident (*triśūla*) to the left. He is accompanied by a male attendant.

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[1] It will be noticed that in the large rock-cut relief in the so-called Kṛishna Manḍapa, Kṛishna does not occupy the centre of the group, but his brother Baladēva who is supported by a male figure of Faun-like appearance. The latter is standing with his arms crossed in front of his breast and leaning on a hatchet with long handle. There is a square hole on the pavement, 3′ 7″ × 3′ 8′ in front of the figure of Kṛishna. Cf. Carr, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, No. 2.

At the proper left end we find a four-armed figure holding a staff in two hands.

In the top row we find on the west side, *i.e.*, in the façade, a chapel or cell with a relief carved on its back-wall. This sculpture represents the well-known group of Śiva and Pārvatī peculiar to Pallava art.[1] The four-armed Śiva, distinguished by the crescent in his head-dress (*chandra-śekhara*), is seated to front on a bench, with Pārvatī turned towards him on his left side. She is two-armed and holds a child, presumably Kārttikēya, on her knee. In the upper corners, we notice the usual flying dwarfs, probably *Gaṅas*, apparently waving fly-whisks. There is a four-armed attendant on each side of the main group. In front of the group there is a square mortice indicating the place of the *liṅga* which must have formed the object of worship in this shrine. There is an outlet for sacrificial water to the north; on either side of the entrance to the chapel there are two *dvārapālas;* all four are two-armed, those to the proper right holding a mace and a flower.

The side and back walls of the upper story contain each five figures, standing, all two-armed, except the central one on the south side who is four-armed. It deserves notice that in each case the central figure has a halo, but there is nothing to allow of their identification.[2] It was first thought that the inscriptions over these sculptures gave the names of the deities represented, but Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out that they are merely *birudas* of the Pallava king who founded the temple.

Next to the so-called Dharmarājā comes the Rath of Bhīma (or Bhīmasēna), the second of the Pāṇḍavas (Pl. XXVII, *a*). It has a front porch supported on four pillars and two pilasters and a similar arrangement at the back. The verandah on the north side is unfinished. In that on the south side are two pillars and two pilasters left uncarved. All along the lowermost cornice of the roof there are dormer windows with human heads.[3] As it contains no images, it may be left out of discussion for our present purpose.

The next shrine is the so-called Rath of Arjuna, the third Pāṇḍava (Pl. XXVI, *b*). This and Draupadī's Rath are raised on a common plinth decorated with projecting figures of lions and elephants alternately. This decorative device, which occurs also along the upper cornice of the plinth of Dharmarāja's Rath, reminds one of a similar ornamentation found on the ancient Buddhist *stūpas* of Gandhāra. It appears that at the back of the temples the rock did not leave sufficient material to complete this plinth, and that it was intended to finish it with similar animal figures carved separately, fragments of which are lying around.

The roof of Arjuna's Rath, like that of Bhīma, is decorated with dormer windows, some of which contain heads. The side and back walls contain each five niches with figures. One over the spout-opening (*sōma-sūtra*) or outlet for sacrificial water on the north side has been left uncarved.

The central niche on the back wall shows a figure mounted on an elephant facing; it is supposed to represent the thunder-god, Indra, who was Arjuna's divine father.

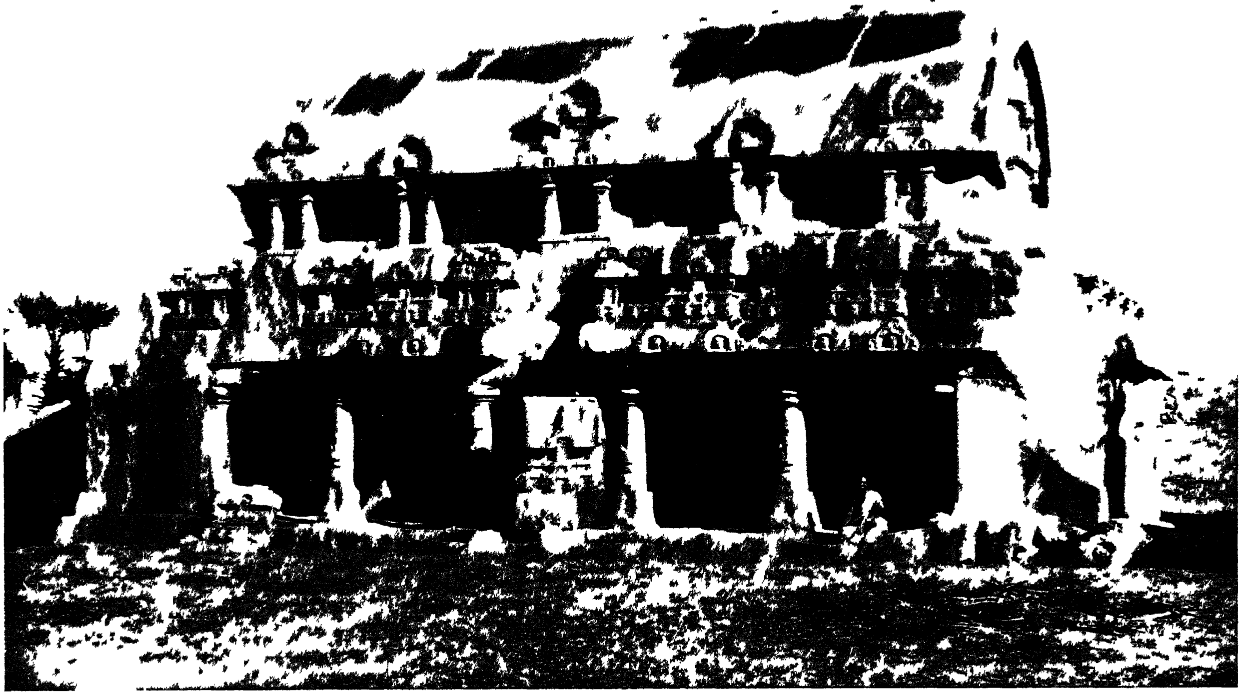
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[1] Cf A. Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XLV, fig 1; LII, fig 1, XCVI, CIV, fig. 1, and CXVII

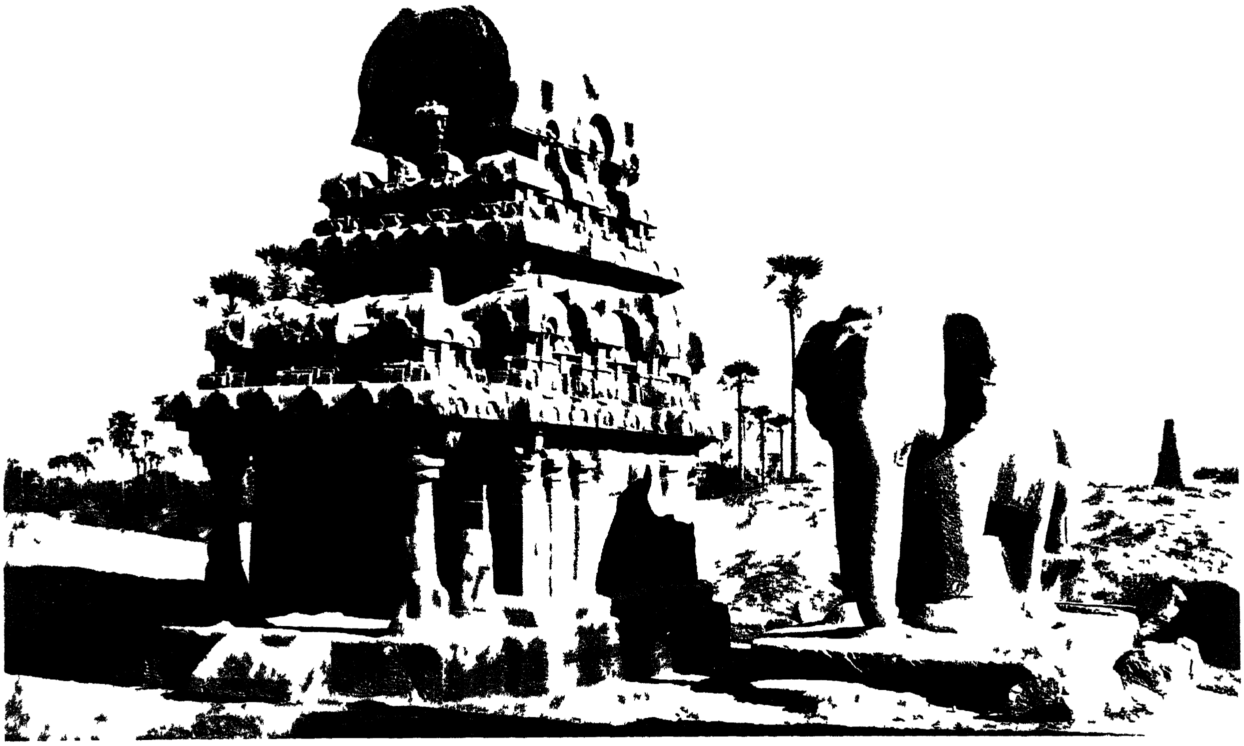
[2] Cf. Cair, *op. cit.*, Pl XVI.

[3] It is noteworthy that similar arrangement is found on the brick temple of Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore District It occurs also on two Javanese temples, namely, the Chandi Bhima on the Dieng plateau in Central Java, and the Gunung Gangsii, a brick temple on the border of the districts of Soerabaja and Pasaroean, which is the oldest temple known in Eastern Java. Cf. *A.S.R.* for 1908-9, p. 11.

TEMPLES AT MAMALLAPURAM ("SEVEN PAGODAS")

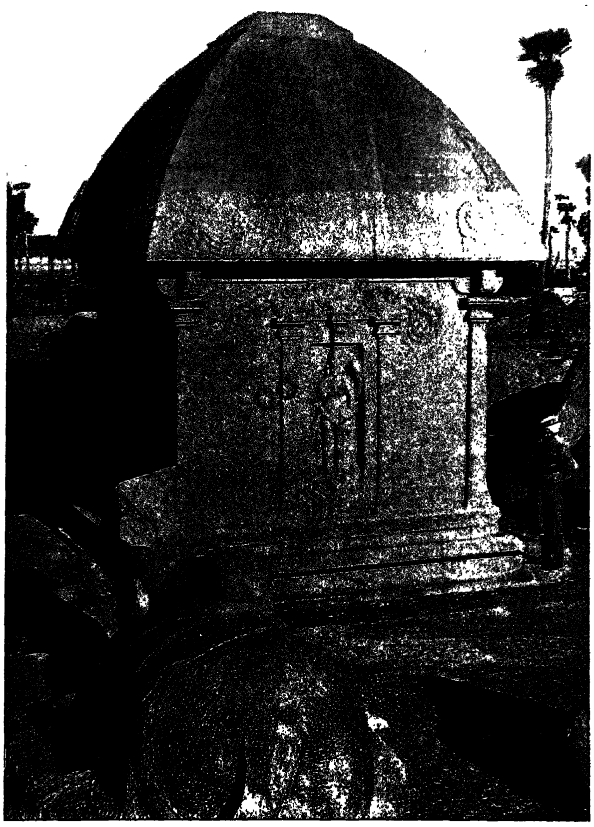


(*a*) RATH OF BHIMASENA, FROM WEST

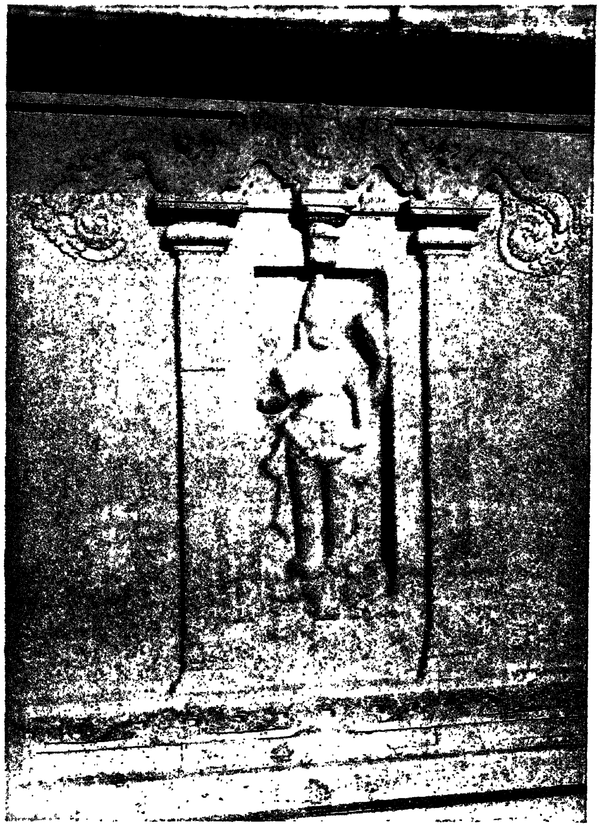


(*b*) RATH OF NAKULA AND SAHADEVA, FROM SOUTH-EAST

TEMPLES AT MAMALLAPURAM ("SEVEN PAGODAS").



(*a*) RATH OF DRAUPADI; FROM SOUTH-EAST.



(*b*) RATH OF DRAUPADI, BACK; FROM EAST.



(*c*) SUPPOSED IMAGE OF DRAUPADI.



(*d*) IMAGE OF GODDESS IN LOWER CAVE, TRICHINOPOLY.

That the figure actually is meant for Indra is not at all improbable, if we may judge from his vehicle. The remaining figures on Arjuna's Rath do not offer anything remarkable.

The smallest and plainest temple of the group is known as Draupadī's Rath (Pl. XXVIII, *a*). The back wall of the cella is carved with a relief representing a four-armed goddess standing on a lotus. She holds a wheel in her upper right hand; the upper left is broken. The remaining two hands are empty. This figure is supposed to represent Draupadī. Fergusson assumes that she probably represents Lakshmī. It will be seen in the sequel that I propose to identify her as Durgā or Pārvatī. At her feet are two kneeling figures, probably of donors. The one to the proper right is a male, who with his left hand grasps his tuft (*chūḍā*) of hair which apparently he is in the act of cutting with a sword held in his right hand. The attitude of this figure is very striking. It is noteworthy that a figure in the same posture is found at the side of the Dēvī figure in the lower cave temple of Trichinopoly. On Pl. XXVIII (*c* and *d*) both are shown side by side. In the sequel we shall also meet with a similar representation in the so-called Varāha Maṇḍapa. Can the figures in this attitude refer to a hair-offering, a well-known practice of various ancient nations?[1] The other kneeling figure appears to be female; the breasts are broken. She joins her hands in the attitude of adoration. Besides, there are four flying Gaṇa or Yaksha figures, two on each side. The entrance is flanked by two female guardians, each holding a bow.[2]

Each of the three niches in the side and back walls of the temple contains a four-armed female figure standing. That on the back wall is placed on what appears to be a buffalo-head, and would therefore seem to represent a Mahishāsuramardinī[3] (Pl. XXVIII, *b*). A *makara* ornament is found above each niche.

The cornice of the roof is supported by a row of dwarfs, nine on each side, the central one placed to front, the others turned slightly to the right and left.

The fifth rock-cut temple stands separate from the others and, on that account evidently, has been assigned by popular tradition to Nakula and Sahadēva, the two younger Pāṇḍavas and sons of Mādrī (Pl. XXVII, *b*). It faces south and is very unfinished, not even excavated, but is curious for its apsidal shape. Along the lowermost cornice of the roof we have again a row of dormer windows with heads.

It is clear that the popular designation of these five so-called Raths is purely phantastical. All over India ancient buildings are connected with the five Pāṇḍava brothers and their common spouse Draupadī.

This was indeed recognised by Mr. B. G. Babington who wrote in 1830 [4]:— "To the legendary accounts of the Brahmans at Mahāmalaipūr, which are given at such length by Mr. Chambers and Mrs. Graham, I attach little value, because I find that they have not even preserved the memory of the language and character of the inscriptions which here abound; and because this place, in being accounted the work

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[1] W. Robertson Smith, *The religion of the Semites*, pp. 323 ff.

[2] Cf. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 330, fig 186.

[3] In the Subrahmanya temple of Tanjore (Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 365, fig. 214), I noticed in a niche in the north wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* a figure of Durgā, Mahishāsuramardinī, facing, standing on a buffalo-head. She is four-armed and holds a flaming wheel in the upper right and a flaming conch in the upper left hand. The other right hand is raised in the attitude of imparting protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). The second left hand is placed on the hip.

[4] *Transactions R.A.S.*, Vol. II (1830) and Carr, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.

of the five sons of Pāṇḍu, only shares a tradition common to all the antiquities of unexplained origin in the south of India."

This remark applies equally to the north of India and even to Hinduized countries outside the Indian continent. As an instance I may mention the group of ruined temples at Babor, the ancient Babbāpura,[1] in Jammū, which on the Survey map (sheet No. 29) is indicated as "Pandoo ruin." Outside India I may quote the group of temples on the Dieng plateau in the Isle of Java, which are named Chandi Pandu, Chandi Puntadeva (*i.e.* Yudhishṭhira), Chandi Bima or Wĕrkodara (Skr. Vṛikōdara), Chandi Arjuna, Chandi Nakula-Sadewa (*i.e.* Sahadēva), Chandi Sĕmbadra (Skr. Subhadrā), Chandi Darawati (Skr. Dwāravatī), Chandi Gaṭōtkacha (Skr. Ghaṭōtkacha), Chandi Parikĕsit (Skr. Parikshit), etc. The temples of the Dieng plateau appear to be all Śaiva.[2]

The group of rock-cut shrines of Māmallapuram was singularly adapted for such a popular intrepretation. Four of them are placed in a row, the largest one—that of Dharmarāja or Yudhishṭhira—at the southern end, and the smallest one named after Draupadī at the northern end. The fifth temple—ascribed to Nakula and Sahadeva—stands separate from the others.

The only temple regarding the real origin of which a definite statement can be made is the Dharmarāja. For it is recorded in two inscriptions found on the building that it was "the Īśvara (Śiva) temple of Atyantakāma Pallava." Atyantakāma, according to Dr. Hultzsch, is the same as the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I, surnamed Mahāmalla, who reigned in the first half of the seventh century and who gave his name to Māmalla (*i.e.* Mahāmalla) puram.[3] That the temple was dedicated to Śiva appears also from the relief in the cella and from the fact that this cella must once have contained a *liṅga.*

For a tentative identification of two of the remaining four temples it is important to note that among the group, we find three life-size animals cut out of the same rock. They are placed at random, but I have little doubt that they were intended to be finally placed in front of the respective shrines to which they belong. For it will be noticed that these three animals are all *vāhanas.* They are a lion and an elephant, now placed in front of the Draupadī and Arjuna Raths and a bull placed at the back of these buildings. The bull was probably intended to be placed in front of the Dharmarāja, which, as we saw, is in reality a Śiva temple. The lion had not to be shifted very far to come right opposite the entrance of the Dēvī, popularly Draupadī, temple. If this was indeed the intention of the sculptors, it would follow that the goddess depicted in the relief inside the temple represents Durgā or Pārvatī. This assumption would well agree with the circumstance that the niche in the back-wall contains a figure of the demon-slaying goddess.

The elephant is the vehicle of Indra, and we may therefore assume that the so-called Rath of Arjuna was in reality a shrine dedicated to Indra, whose effigy we have, moreover, recognised in the centre of the back-wall.

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[1] Cf. my note *J.R.A.S.* for 1907, p. 405.

[2] Cf. R. D. M. Verbeek, *Oudheden van Java,* Batavia, 1891, pp. 121 ff. and T. van Erp, *Hindu Monumental Art in Central Java,* pp. 139 ff.

[3] E. Hultzsch, *The Pallava Inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas* in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X, pp. 1 ff

As regards the two remaining temples, the so-called Raths of Bhīma and Nakula Sahadēva, I am unable to offer any suggestions.

The so-called Mahishāsura Maṇḍapa is in reality a cave temple dedicated to Śiva. This is evident from the relief carved on the back-wall of the cella.[1] It is very similar to that found in the *liṅga* shrine of the so-called Dharmarāja Rath, of which a description has been given above. Here also we have a four-armed Śiva with a high tiara and halo, seated to front, and at his left side Pārvatī holding a child, presumably Kārttikēya, on her knee. Over the head of the goddess there are traces of a parasol. We notice two more figures in the back-ground behind Śiva. They are four-armed and must represent Brahmā and Vishṇu—the two other members of the Hindu Trinity. The former holds a water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) and a lotus-flower; the latter has his usual emblems—the wheel (*chakra*) and the conch (*śaṅkha*). Beneath is Śiva's vehicle, the bull Nandi, lying at his feet. Besides there is a small female figure at the feet of Pārvatī. The two lions on both sides indicate the throne or *siṁhāsana*. The back wall contains two side chapels in which originally *liṅgas* must have been placed.

The temple has received its popular designation from one of the two large reliefs carved on the side walls. This relief, which is found on the right-hand wall on entering, represents Durgā defeating Mahishāsura (Pl. XXIX, *a*).[2] The eight-armed goddess, astride on her vehicle, the lion, is shown in the act of shooting arrows at the demon king. The emblems held in her remaining six arms are a disk (*chakra*), a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) and a sword (*khaḍga*) to the right, and a conch (*śaṅkha*), a noose (*pāśa*) and an indistinct object to the left. A quiver is visible over her left shoulder. She is surrounded by a host of dwarfs, evidently the Gaṇas of Śiva, her spouse. One, behind her, holds a parasol over her head; another, at her side, waves a fly-whisk (*chāmara*). The remainder carry various weapons—usually a round buckler and a curved sword in shape somewhat like the *kukri* of the Gurkhas. One in the foreground is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow. Distinct from these Gaṇas is a female figure fallen on her knees in front of the lion and raising a sword with her right hand. Possibly this figure represents Kālī, an emanation of Durgā, though she does not present the terrific appearance peculiar to the "black" goddess.

Right opposite Durgā stands the colossal figure of the buffalo-headed demon king. His royal rank also is indicated by a parasol over his head. He carries a heavy mace in his two hands and has, moreover, a sword fastened to his left hip. His attitude is that of yielding to the onslaught of the warlike goddess. His army is represented by seven demons. Two of these are prostrated in the foreground—one slain and the other apparently wounded. The latter holds up his right hand with two fingers raised. Can this be the gesture of a vanquished warrior imploring his victorious enemy to spare his life? Of the remaining Asuras one is retreating, whereas the others seem to offer a feeble resistance. It is worthy of notice that, with the exception of Māhishāsura himself, the demons are shown in a purely human shape.

The slaying of the Buffalo Demon by Durgā is a very favourite subject not only in India proper but also in Java. In later sculpture the goddess is invariably

[1] Carr, *op. cit.*, Madras, 1869, Pl. III, No. 1. [2] Carr, *op. cit.*, Plate IV; V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 220 f.; pl. XLV.

shown standing with one foot—less frequently with two—on the prostrate buffalo whom she pierces with her trident.[1] It will be seen that the present scene of Mahishāsura's defeat differs wholly from the conventional manner of representing this scene.

On the opposite wall we find another familiar scene, namely, the sleep of Vishnu (Pl. XXIX, *b*).[2] The god is lying on his back on the coils of the serpent Śēsha, whose five-fold hood forms a canopy over his head. He wears his usual high tiara, but is two-armed and is not distinguished by any emblems. In front of his serpent-couch are three small-sized figures, of which two are male and one female. The first male figure, the lower part of which is hidden, raises his left hand and holds some indistinct object in his right hand. The two remaining figures are shown kneeling, the female one in the attitude of adoration (*namaskāra*).

At the lower end of Vishṇu's couch are two colossal figures standing in an attitude of defiance, the one in front holding a mace. They may be identified with Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the two demons, who sprang up from Vishṇu's ear secretion during his sleep.[3] Over the sleeping god we notice two flying figures, of which the second has the appearance of a goblin or *gana*. The other, perhaps, represents the goddess Yōganidrā-Durgā born from the wrath of the gods for the destruction of the evil spirits.

If this identification is correct, it would follow that the present sculpture also relates to the legend of the goddess Durgā like that on the opposite wall. The treatment of the scene of Vishṇu's sleep is in any case very different from the stereotyped form found in later Indian Art. As to the date of the remarkable sculptures in the "Mahishāsura Cave," I have little doubt that they must be approximately contemporaneous with the five so-called Raths. We have already noticed the great similarity between the group of Śiva and Pārvatī in the central shrine of this temple and that found in the Rath of Dharmarāja.

I may also draw attention to the pillars[4] supported on sitting lions with looped tails, to the dormer windows with human heads along the cornice, and to the goblins or *gaṇas*, all of which are likewise found in the Raths.

The two large reliefs display an originality of conception and a freedom of execution not often found in Indian art. The figures are full of vigour and their action is well rendered. Especially is this the case with the lion-riding Durgā, whose onslaught contrasts with the hesitating attitude of her enemy, the Buffalo-Demon. In the same way the lassitude of the slumbering Vishṇu is brought out more prominently by the threatening attitude of the two demons.

We now come to the so-called Varāha Maṇḍapa. The right-hand wall of

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[1] Cf. *A S R* for 1902-3, p 241, fig 2 I know of only one other instance in which the Mahishāsura is represented as a human figure with the head of a buffalo It is a very fine sculpture from Mukhed, district Vaiden, Hyderabad State, 1′ 11½″ by 1′ ¼′ (now in the Calcutta Museum) in which the eight-armed goddess is shown plunging her trident in the breast of the buffalo-headed demon whom she holds down with one of her left hands.

In South India it seems that the goddess is usually standing to front on the severed buffalo head of the demon. An early example is found in the back niche of the Devi temple known as Draupadī's Rath at Māmallapuram

[2] Carr., *op cit*, Pl III, No 2

[3] For the local interpretation see Fergusson, Cave *Temples*, p 146 Cf the terra-cotta from Bhītargāon. *A.S R.*, Vol. XI Pl. XVII, and Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl LXXXII, fig 2.

[4] The cave temple contains four pillars and two pilasters. Of these the two front-pillars have no lion figures, whereas the two remaining pillars and the two pilasters have lion bases

PLATE XXIX.

TEMPLES AT MAMALLAPURAM ("SEVEN PAGODAS").



(a) DEVI DEFEATING MAHISHASURA.



(b) VISHNU'S SLEEP.



(c) BOAR INCARNATION.



(d) DWARF INCARNATION.

this cave temple is carved with a representation of the Varāha *avatāra* (Pl. XXIX, *c*).[1] The main figure of the group is Vishṇu with boar's head and four arms. He has a wheel in his right and a conch in his left hand. With his two remaining hands he holds a small female figure seated on his right knee. His right foot is placed on the head of a five-hooded Nāga who issues half-way from among lotus flowers and foliage and has his hands joined in the attitude of adoration (*namaskāra*). The female figure is the Earth saved by Vishṇu from the abyss, and the demon trodden under foot must be the Daitya Hiranyāksha, "Gold-eye," here shown in the shape of a Nāga.

There are some more figures around in worshipping attitudes. To the left of Vishṇu stands a four-armed male figure with high conical head-dress. It has a second face on the proper left. The proper right side of the head is broken, but most probably there was a side face here also. Can it be Brahmā? Another smaller figure stands with its back turned towards the spectator.

To the proper right there is a male figure, apparently an ascetic, standing with his back to the spectator. He wears a braided hair-tuft (*jaṭā*) and has hands folded. In front of him a female figure, smaller in size, assumes also the posture of worship

Two worshipping figures are seen issuing from the clouds in the upper corners of the relief That to the proper right has a halo and may be Sūrya, the other Chandra. A staff with curved handle is suspended in the air beneath the supposed Sūrya.

The next panel shows Lakshmī, two-armed, seated to front in European fashion on a conventional lotus flower.[2] There are four nude female attendants, standing, two on each side of the central figure. The two next to Lakshmī hold each a water-jar on the palm of one hand in the fashion of Indian women. In each case the second arm is broken The two other female attendants hold each an indistinct object in the left hand. Two elephants are partly visible in the background. That on the proper right empties a water-jar over the head of Lakshmī. The other takes with his trunk a similar jar from the hand of the female attendant standing on the left side of the goddess. The heads of the elephants are excellent; the female forms do not show the exaggeration usually found in Indian sculpture.

The panel opposite the Varāha *avatāra* refers to the Vāmana *avatāra* or Dwarf incarnation (Pl. XXIX, *d*).[3] Vishṇu is standing in his typical posture with his left leg stretched upwards. He is making the three steps (*trivikrama*) through the Universe. Here the god has eight arms. Of the four right hands the uppermost supports the lintel, the second holds a wheel (*chakra*), the third a mace or sword, the fourth a sword. Of the left hands, one is stretched out with pointing finger. The second holds a conch (*śaṅkha*), the third a shield, and the fourth a long staff or bow in front of the body. Four large male figures are seated at Vishṇu's feet; the two on the proper left are armed with daggers. A small female figure, four-armed, is seated

[1] *Cf.* Fergusson, *Cave Temples*, pp. 150 ff, and Carr, *op. cit.*; Pl. V.

[2] Carr., *op. cit.*; Pl. VIII, No. 1. Cf. the Gaja-Lakshmi on the Kailāsanātha Temple of Kāñchipuram (Conjeewaram), Rea, *Pallava Architecture*; Pl. VI.

[3] Carr., *op. cit.*, *Pl.* VI.

on a lotus behind Vishṇu's outstretched hand and near his raised left foot. In front of her is an animal-headed flying figure with a drum, pointing at her with his left hand. According to the local Brahmans these figures represent Brahmā and Jāmbavat, the king of the bears! Under her are two male figures, one flying and the other apparently falling. The latter is possibly Bali, the demon-king. On the proper right side we find a four-armed figure seated on a lotus. Under it is a flying figure with halo, perhaps the Sun-god Sūrya.

In the back-wall on the proper left side, is a fourth panel [1] It shows a goddess, probably Pārvatī, very similar to the so-called Draupadī, with high conical head-dress and umbrella over her head, standing on what appears to be an uncarved lotus. She is four-armed and holds a wheel and a conch in upper right and left hands respectively. The second right hand is broken, the second left rests on her hip. She has a band over her breasts.

At her feet two males are crouching; the one to the proper right holds his hair with his left hand and seems about to cut it off with a sword in his right hand. We have seen above that a similar figure occurs to the right of the so-called Draupadī and also of the goddess in the lower Trichinopoly rock temple. In each case the central personage seems to be the goddess Durgā. Besides, there are four flying *ganas*, two on each side. One to the proper left of the goddess holds a sword, one on the right a basket or dish placed on his left hand. In the upper corners are animal heads, to the proper right that of a lion and to the upper left that of a deer or antelope.

The so-called Trimūrti Maṇḍapa is a cave temple near the "Gōpī's-Churn." It contains three cells. The central one has a relief carved on the back-wall representing Śiva standing, four-armed. In one right hand he holds a hatchet (broken), in one left hand a rosary (standing up). The two others are broken. There are four attendants, two crouching at his feet and two *ganas* flying. In the cell to the proper left is Vishṇu, four-armed In his upper right hand he holds the wheel, in the upper left the conch (broken), while the other two hands are empty. Again we notice four attendants. In the proper right cell is a figure of Brahmā, standing, four-armed. In his upper right hand he holds a flower, in his upper left hand a ring, the remaining two are empty. In each case one left hand rests on the hip and one right hand is raised. The three figures are reproduced on Pl XXX; but it should be noted that on the plate Vishṇu is placed in the centre, whereas in reality the central cell is occupied by Śiva.

In the so-called "Shore Temple" the main object of iconographical interest is the bas-relief carved on the back-wall of the main cella, namely, the one facing the west. This relief is very similar to those in the shrine of Dharmarāja's Rath, and in the Mahishāsura Mandapa. This itself would afford sufficient proof that the "Shore Temple" also belongs to the same period as the other monuments just mentioned. Here again we find Śiva, four-armed, with halo and very high, conical head-dress, seated to front, and at his left side Pārvatī holding Skanda on her knee. Brahmā and Vishṇu, both four-armed, are visible on both sides of Śiva. Vishṇu holds in two hands his usual attributes, the wheel and the conch; the other two hands are empty The emblems of Brahmā are indistinct. In the present instance there is no indication

[1] Carr, *op cit.* Pl. VII, No. 1.



(*a*) BRAHMA



(*b*) VISHNU



(*c*) SIVA

IMAGES IN TRIMURTI MANDAPA.

of the throne or *siṁhāsana*, but we notice a pitcher at Pārvatī's feet. The relief is nearly 4 feet high.

A similar bas-relief, larger in size, but much more defaced owing to the action of the sea-water, is found in the cella facing the sea. Here we find a *liṅga*, broken, still *in situ*.

I wish now to offer some remarks on the famous rock-cut bas-relief, 90 by 30 feet, known as "Arjuna's Penance." [1] There is some reason to assume that this designation has as little connexion with the original meaning of this gigantic sculpture as the popular names of the so-called Raths. It is true that among the numerous figures rather a prominent place is taken by an ascetic standing on one leg and stretching his two arms upwards (*ūrdhva-bāhu*) in the position so often described in the old Indian epics. But there is nothing to indicate that this figure represents Arjuna. At his right side we notice a four-armed god, whose attributes are by no means clear, but from the presence of goblins, probably meant for *gaṇas*, we may perhaps infer that it is Śiva.[2] It should, however, be noted that in Pallava art we find similar figures attending other deities also. Feats of asceticism rewarded by some boon granted by one of the gods are so frequent in epic literature that there is very slight justification indeed for identifying this sculpture with the particular scene of Arjuna's *tapas*.

On the contrary, all that is typical in that episode is absent here. The story is that Śiva appeared to Arjuna in the shape of a wild Kirāta hunter pursuing a boar which became the object of an altercation and personal combat between the two.[3] It is an undoubted fact which has drawn the attention of previous explorers that the supposed group of Arjuna and Śiva does not really form the centre of the whole sculptured picture. From both sides the numerous figures of demi-gods, men and beasts—mostly in couples and most of them folding hands in the attitude of adoration—are turned towards the large vertical cleft or fissure which separates the two halves of the rock. The so-called Arjuna and Śiva are placed a little to the proper right of this cleft, and it will be noticed that some of the adoring figures are turned away from them and, like the others, are flying towards the cleft. This cleft, therefore, is the real centre of the whole sculpture.

Fergusson assumed that the free standing figures of a Nāga and a Nāgī which occupy their places, one above the other, inside the cleft itself, were the real objects of adoration and that, therefore, the whole scene relates to Nāga worship.[4] But it has been rightly pointed out that this interpretation is impossible as the two Nāga figures themselves assume the same attitude of *namaskāra* as the other demi-gods — Gandharvas and Apsaras, Kinnaras and Kinnarīs and so on. There are, moreover, a Nāga and Nāgī among the figures approaching the fissure from the proper right.

Dr. Marshall has suggested that possibly there had once been a detached image

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[1] Carr *op. cit.*, Pls. I and II, No. 1. Fergusson, *Cave Temples*, pp. 150 ff; *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, pp. 341 ff; V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 222 ff; Pl. XLVI.

[2] Goldingham identifies the figure with Krishṇa. Cf. Carr., *op. cit.*; p. 30.

[3] I may note that the scene of this contest is located at a cave in the Kulū valley.

[4] The upper half of the Nāga figure which was detached and has been refixed is shown in his *Cave Temples*, fig. 41, and *History of Indian Architecture*, Revised Edition, Vol. I, fig. 197.

standing in front of the rock and forming the real object of worship. But excavation carried out on the spot has revealed no trace of such a figure.

Can it be that once there existed here a sacred spring and that the water gushing forth from the cleft was the real aim and object of all the adoring figures? The presence of the Nāgas would then be most easily accounted for, as they are the water-spirits dwelling in lakes and springs.

I may also draw attention to the splendid group of ascetics,[1] some carved in the round, which are engaged in the various occupations of the hermitage (*āśrama*) in front of a little shrine. Such a scene is usually laid on the banks of some sacred river, and we find indeed among these figures, nearest the cleft, a young ascetic carrying a water-jar on his left shoulder. He reminds us of the famous episode of the Rāmāyana in which Daśaratha shoots by mistake the son of a blind hermit, while he was filling his water-jar in the dark.[2]

On the other side of the cleft we have that curious figure of the penitent cat standing, like Arjuna, on one leg with his fore-paws stretched out above his head. We are at once reminded of the hypocritical cat Dadhikarṇa ("Curd-ear") of the Indian fable who assumed the part of a pious ascetic to allure the unsuspecting hare and sparrow into his power. I have little doubt that the sculptor who fashioned this figure had Dadhikarṇa in mind, though there is here no evidence of the penitent cat not being sincere. The mice playing around him do not seem to disturb his quietude of mind. But the interesting point in the present instance is that the cat of the fable performs his feigned penitence on a little island in the sacred Gaṅgā according to one version and, according to the other, on the bank of a river. But in their case the hypocrite is described as standing "with one eye closed, with the arms raised, with half his feet touching the earth, turned towards the sun." [3]

A geologist may perhaps be able to decide whether the former existence of a spring of fresh water on this spot is at all possible or probable. So much is certain that such a *tīrtha*, adored by gods, men and beasts would well account for the various groups of this wonderful rock-carving.

Finally I wish to offer a few general remarks as a result of the present study. I have already drawn attention to the conspicuous artistic merit of several of the carvings of Māmallapuram and to the great originality of treatment and power of execution. This refers particularly to the large sculptured tableaux, as we might call them, of the defeat of Mahisha, Vishṇu's sleep, the Boar and Dwarf Incarnation and the so-called "Penance of Arjuna." Several of the smaller groups and detached figures also betray a much greater freedom than is usual in Indian art, and even where the central figure of the deity is rigid, the attending figures are full of expression and action.

A striking characteristic of these sculptures is their sober and moderate style in

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[1] One of these is supposed to represent Drōṇa, the Brahman preceptor of the Pāṇḍavas, who was killed in the battle of Kurukshētra. Cf. Carr, *op. cit.*; p. 203.

[2] The story has been adopted by the Buddhists and made into the Sama-jataka (ed. Fansboll, Vol. VI, pp. 68 ff, No. 540; transl. Vol. VI, pp. 38 ff).

[3] *Pañchatantra* (ed. Kosegarten), pp. 165 ff, ed. Kielhorn-Bühler (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. III), pp. 56 ff. In the Bombay edition the name of the cat is Tīkshṇadaṁshṭra, "sharp-tooth." For the local explanation of the cat in the Māmallapuram sculpture see Carr., *op. cit.*, p. 200.

which they contrast strongly with the productions of the mediæval plastic art of India. Here we do not find the exaggeration of form, the exuberance of ornament and the want of proportion which disfigure those later sculptures.[1]

It will be noticed that the majority of deities represented are either two- or four-armed. The only exceptions are the Vishṇu in the scene of the Vāmana *avatāra*, the goddess in the Trimūrti Cave, and the goddess Durgā defeating the Demon king. In these three cases the main figure is eight-armed, but it will be noticed that in the last-mentioned instance the plurality of arms has been made as little conspicuous as possible, and is therefore much less repulsive to our taste. The artist has given prominence to the two arms which handle the bow, and the six remaining arms have been kept in the back-ground. The figure of the youthful goddess is, therefore, particularly graceful, notwithstanding her eight arms. In the case of the boar-headed Vishṇu also the two arms holding the Earth-goddess have been made more prominent than the two others, holding the wheel and the conch. It is especially noteworth that the sleeping Vishṇu has only one pair of arms. The two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, also bear a purely human shape.

We know that in later sculpture Vishṇu is invariably four-armed (*chatur-bhuja*) and that his attributes are the wheel (*chakra*), the conch (*śaṅkha*), the lotus (*padma*), and the mace (*gadā*). I need only remind the reader of the naughty story, told in the Hitopadēśā, of the weaver who, in the shape of Vishṇu, wins the love of the simple-minded princess. It would seem, however, that in the seventh century, neither the number of his arms nor his attributes were finally fixed. It is true that the Vishṇu images of Māmallapuram are usually four-armed, *e.g.*, the two noticed among the figures on the Dharmarāja and the one in the Trimūrti Cave. But in this respect they do not differ from the effigies of other deities. It is also remarkable that in the instances quoted there are only two emblems, namely, the conch and the wheel, held in the upper pair of hands, whereas the other pair is empty. It is evident, therefore, that the extra pair was not added, as might have been expected, in order to make it possible to provide the figure with two more attributes. The real object of the sculptor was apparently to bring out the divine nature of the personage represented by giving him a superhuman shape.

Most of the four-armed figures of deities found here are only provided with two emblems, the other two hands being empty. Of the latter the left usually rests on the hip and the right is raised in the attitude indicating the imparting of protection. It deserves also notice that the two emblems, the wheel and the conch, are not particular to Vishṇu exclusively, for we saw that the goddess Durgā seems to be portrayed with the same attributes. Among the various objects held by the eight-armed goddess defeating the Mahishāsura, we notice also the wheel and the conch, but this is in accordance with the text which says that she was provided with the weapons and emblems of the various gods.

Another point of interest is that the deities figured in these carvings are not provided with haloes. There are only a few exceptions to this rule. In the so-called "Penance of Arjuna" we find two figures with circular haloes hovering on both sides of what is generally supposed to be the central group of this rock-sculpture. These

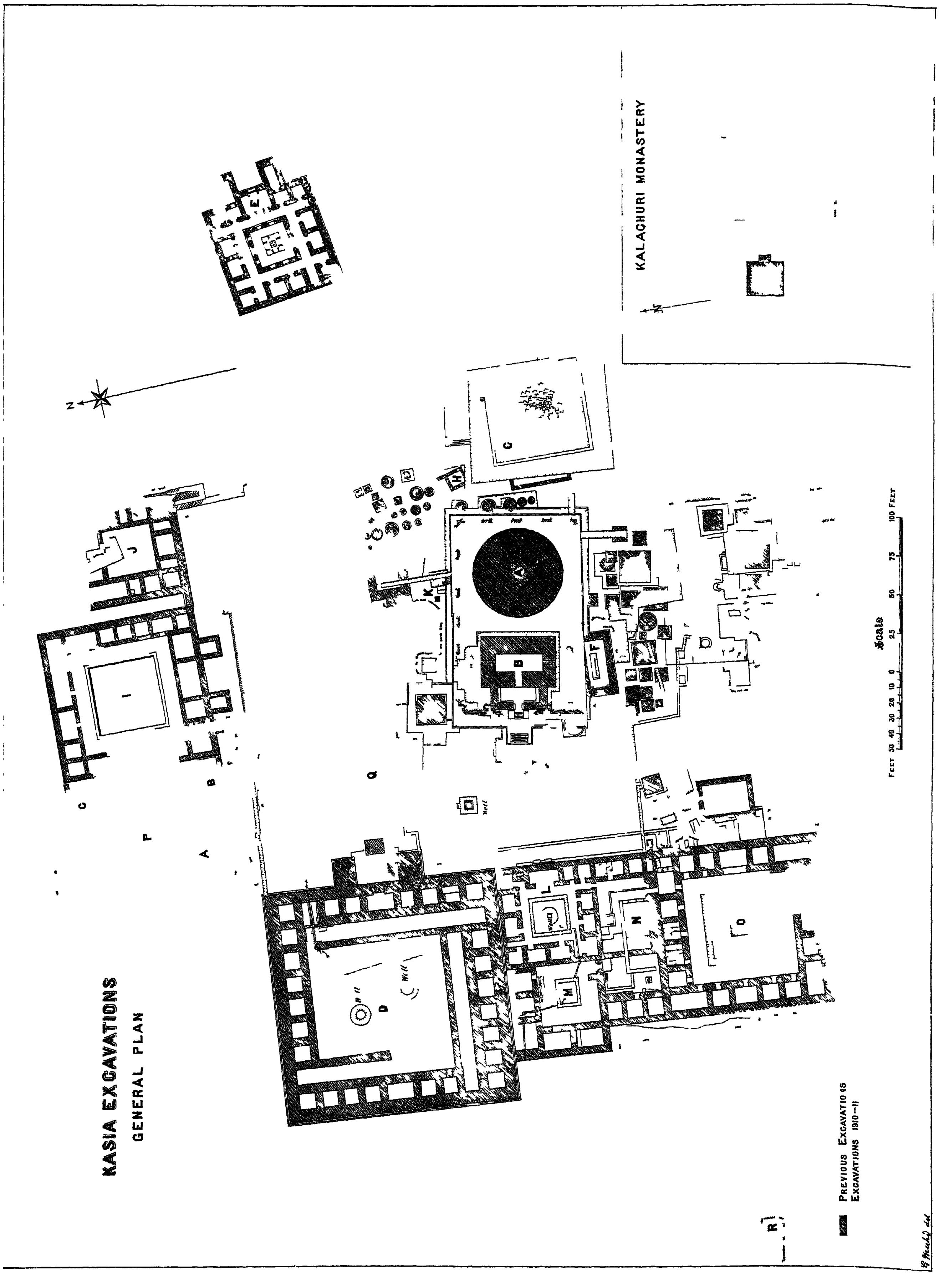
[1] *Cf.* Fergusson, *Cave Temples*, p. 126, and *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 333.

two haloed figures have been explained as Sūrya and Chandra.[1] This explanation is probably correct, and when we meet with other instances of figures with haloes, we may perhaps assume that they represent one or both of these deities. Such a figure we notice in the upper proper right corner of the bas-relief of the Boar Incarnation. It is shown issuing half-way from the clouds and folding hands in the attitude of adoration, and it seems very probable that it is meant for Sūrya. It is, indeed, quite natural that the sun-god should, in the first instance, be provided with a halo, which originally was the radiating circle of light peculiar to astral deities.[2]

J. PH VOGEL.

[1] Cat., *op. cit.*, p. 203. There is also a figure with circular halo in the scene of the Dwarf Incarnation. It is flying beneath the left hands of Vishṇu.

[2] Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 86.


KASIA EXCAVATIONS
GENERAL PLAN
KALAGHURI MONASTERY
PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS
EXCAVATIONS 1910–11
Scale
FEET 50 40 30 20 10 0 25 50 75 100 FEET

EXCAVATIONS AT KASIĀ.[1]

IN 1907-8 Dr. Vogel's proposals regarding the continuation of the archæological exploration of the ancient Buddhist site near Kasiā in the Gōrakhpur District of the United Provinces met with the approval of the Local Government, but finally it was decided to excavate another important site, that of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh in the Bahraich and Gonda Districts on account of the famine which threatened that part of the Province. Consequently the Kasiā excavations had to stand over. In the meanwhile some Burmese Buddhists of Calcutta collected a sum of about ten thousand rupees and applied to Government for permission to spend that amount in repairing the large *stūpa* which stands at the back of the temple enshrining the colossal Nirvāṇa statue of the Buddha. Before granting permission, it was thought necessary to examine the interior of the structure in question and a sum of Rs. 3,000 was consequently provided from Imperial funds. Under Dr. Vogel's instructions the excavation was resumed in the last week of January and carried on till the middle of April when the whole amount sanctioned had been spent.[2]

During the period of about three months devoted to this work, I examined several parts of the site that had not been explored before, together with the two main *stūpas,* the one behind the Nirvāṇa temple and the other at Rāmābhār. Throughout, the work was done under my direct supervision and with the assistance of M. Ghulam Nabi and Babu Bhura Mall of our office. The former took thirty-two photographs, several of which have been used to illustrate this note, while the latter prepared twenty drawings which will be noticed below in describing the buildings which have now been unearthed. Babu Munshi Ram Beri, who kept the rolls of workmen and the account of the excavation funds, assisted me in listing the finds.

The results of this year's campaign are by no means unsatisfactory and may be summarised as follows. The remains of a monastic building (P) adjoining the monastery (I) towards the north-west have completely been unearthed. To the north-west of the Nirvāṇa temple one more building of the same monastic type—which, on account of its low level, must be a very old structure—has been found, together with the bases of some *stūpas* that were built over it after its collapse. As

[1] On previous explorations at Kasiā, see *Annual Report* for 1904-5, pp. 43 ff.; for 1905-6, pp. 67 ff.; and 1906-7, pp. 44 ff.

[2] About Rs. 60 contributed by Mahābīr Bhikkhu, the Buddhist monk in charge of the *dharmsālā* near the site, were spent in restoring the Bōdhi image popularly known as Māthā Kūar.

remarked above, the two large *stūpas*—the Nirvāṇa and the Rāmābhār—have been examined. To the south of the Rāmābhār *Stūpa* and almost built on to it, the remains of an old structure have come to light, together with a number of large ornamental bricks apparently once used to decorate this building. Apart from this, trial excavations revealed remains of other buildings pointing to the existence here of numerous monuments which would repay exploration.

Excavation further proved that the little Kalachuri temple, exposed by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle[1] in 1876 in which the Bōdhi image (so-called Māthā Kũar) was originally enshrined, is not a building by itself, as was hitherto supposed, but is in reality the chapel of a convent, a portion of which I was able to lay bare.

A list of this year's finds I give at the end of this paper. Chief among them are a copper-plate mostly written in black ink ; a copper vessel filled with sand in which were some pearls, sapphires and other stones not of a very costly nature, a few silver coins of Kumāragupta, and a silver and a gold tube, the latter containing some sort of relics; the ornamental bricks, just mentioned, of an early type; and some clay sealings, partly personal and partly belonging to the congregation of the Friars of the Convent of the Great Decease.

I now proceed to give a detailed account of the monuments that have been recently unearthed, except those to the south of the Nirvāṇa temple, as their description at the present stage would necessarily be imperfect and uncertain.

a.—The Nirvāṇa Stupa (A).[2]

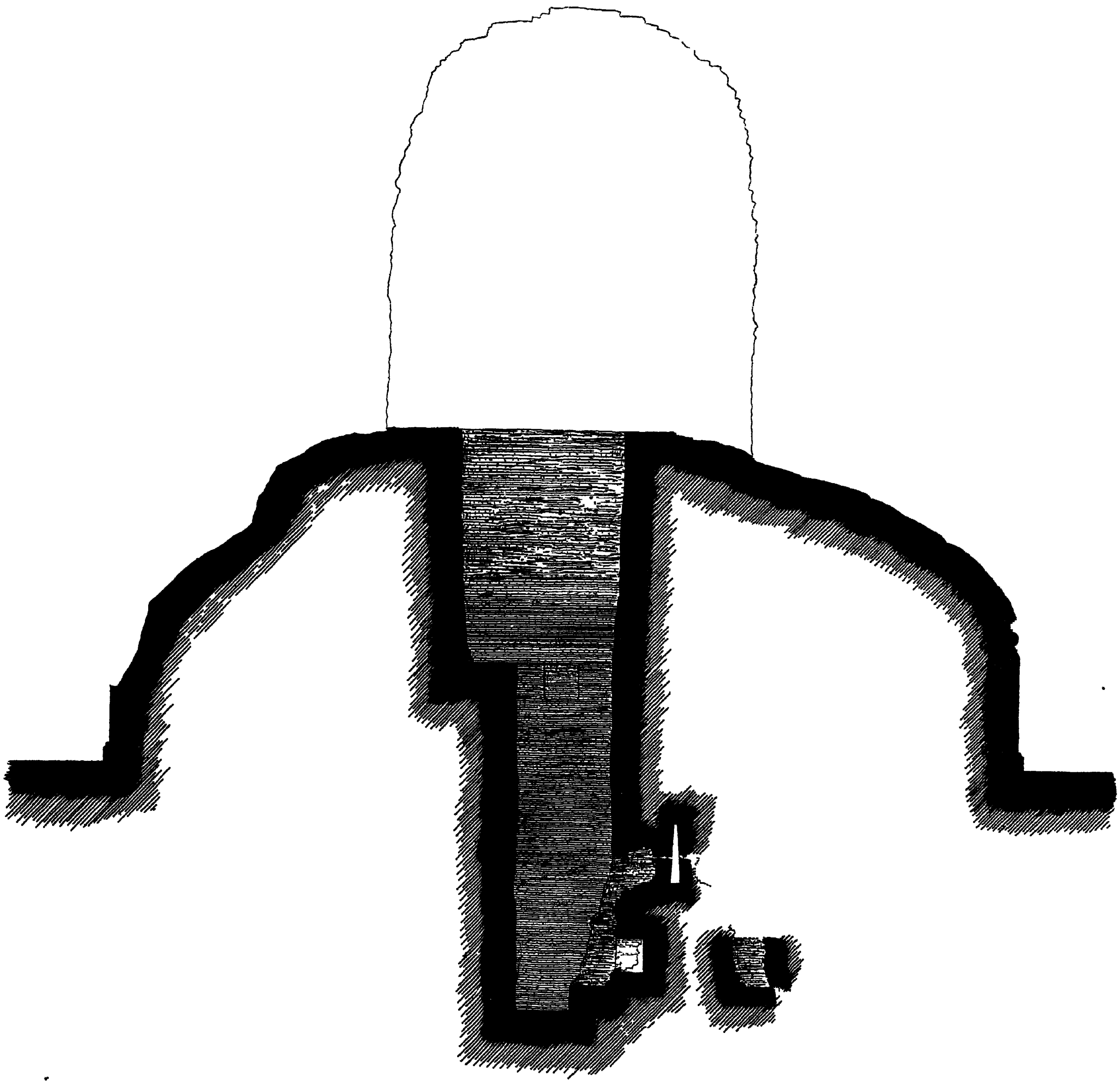
The great *stūpa*, marked *A* on the published plans, which stands behind the Nirvāṇa temple, was completely unearthed by Mr. Carlleyle in 1876. At the time the domed top of it had already gone, while the extant portion of the drum, which measured 25′ in height and 56′ in circumference, was in a more or less dilapidated condition. Before allowing the Buddhists to restore it, it was thought necessary to examine the interior in order to ascertain whether it was merely a memorial monument or contained any relics. First of all, I dismantled the dilapidated top portion and, in doing so, found several carved bricks embedded in the masonry of the drum and a copper coin of *Jayagupta*. The find of carved bricks proves that in the construction of this *stūpa* materials of older buildings were used. I may also note that the remaining portion of the *stūpa* drum still measured 20′ in height from the top of the plinth on which the *stūpa* is raised. A shaft, 10′ wide, was now sunk from the top down the centre of this structure. At a depth of about five feet from the top a *svastika* mark made of two lines of bricks crossing each other at right angles, the quadrants being filled with earth, was noticed at the centre. Lower down, at a depth of 14′, the masonry showed an aperture and, after carefully removing the bricks round about, we came upon a circular chamber, 2′ 1″ in depth as well as diameter. This chamber was found to contain a copper vessel

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 56 The stone inscription discovered by Mr. Carlleyle on the spot is now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. It has not yet been edited, but *cf.* Kielhorn, *Epigraphic Notes*, No. 8, in *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen. Phil. hist. Klasse*, 1903. Heft 3, pp. 300 ff.

[2] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 56 ff., and Vol. XXII, pp. 16 ff.

EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA

DURING 1910-11



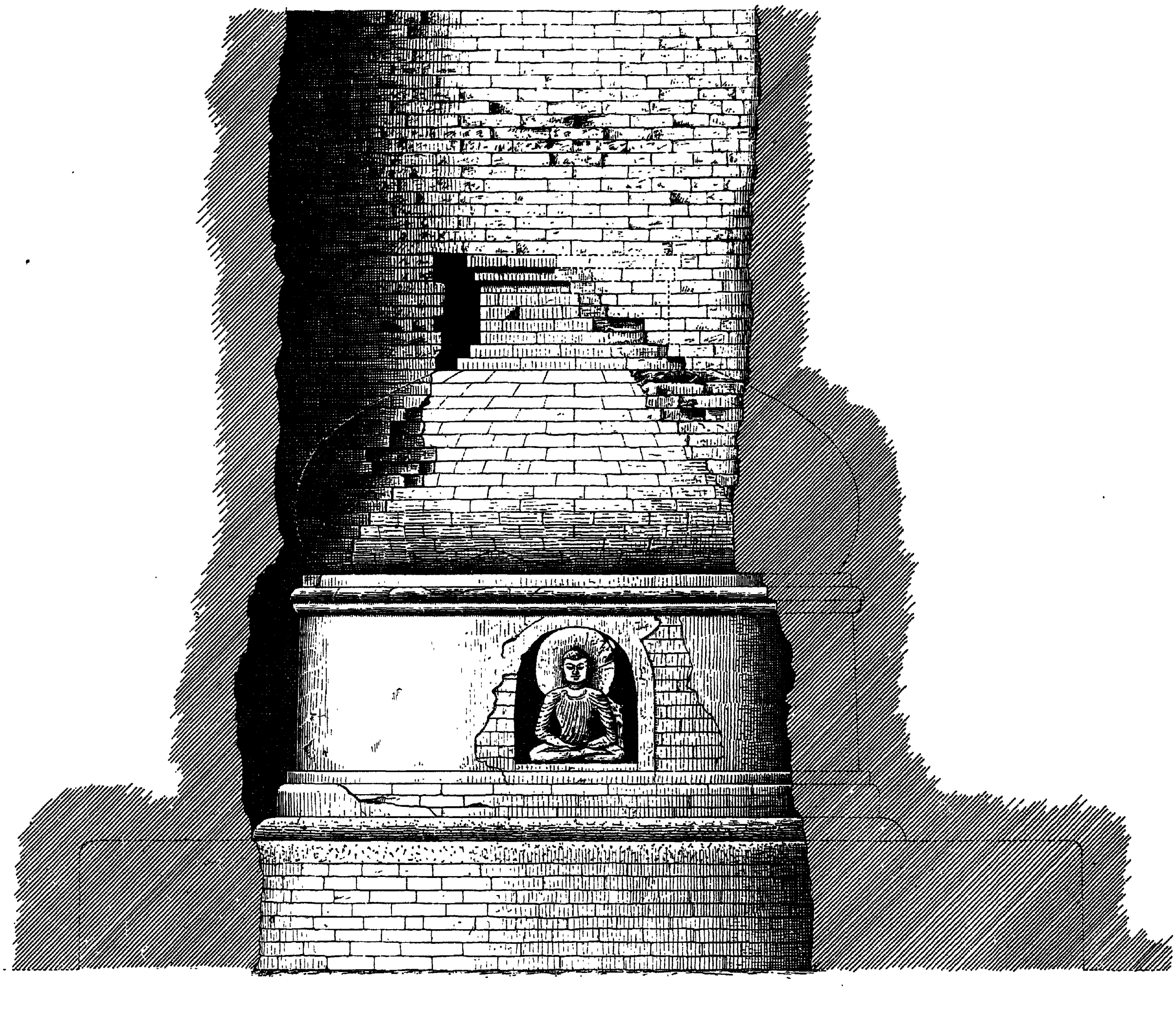
SECTION OF STUPA A.

SCALE

INCHES 12 6 0 5 10 15 20 FEET

SMALL CHAITYA ENCASED IN NIRVANA STUPA.

SECTIONAL ELEVATION.



SCALE

INCHES 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 FEET

HOORA MULL.

in the shape of a *lota*, on the mouth of which a copper-plate had been placed. A small reversed cowrie—always regarded as an auspicious object—lay on the plate, while the copper vessel was embedded in a heap of sand containing innumerable small cowries. The whole deposit was removed and examined. For a full account of the copper-plate I may refer to the special note contributed to this report by Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Pargiter. Here it will suffice to state that the copper-plate contains a *Nidāna-sūtra* in Sanskrit, only the first line being engraved and the remainder written in black enamel. At the end of the document it is recorded that the plate was deposited in the "*Nirvāṇa-chaitya*" and that Haribala was the donor. There can be little doubt that this individual is the same as the Abbot Haribala who was the donor of the colossal *Nirvāṇa* statue enshrined in the temple which adjoins this *Stūpa*.[1] This in connection with the discovery of silver coins of Kumāragupta along with the deposit of relics, proves that Dr. Fleet rightly assigned the inscription on the image to the 5th century.

The copper vessel, which is of the type called *gāgar* in Hindī, contained sand mixed with burnt charcoal, cowries, precious stones and seed pearls. Among this were found two copper tubes One of these tubes was so brittle that it came to pieces. The other, $2\frac{1}{2}''$ high and $1\frac{1}{8}''$ in diameter, with slip-on lid contained ashes, pearls, a small emerald, a silver coin of Kumāragupta and a small silver tube, $1\frac{1}{4}''$ high and $\frac{11}{16}''$ in diameter, which in its turn proved to contain a gold tube, $\frac{7}{8}''$ high and $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. The silver and gold tubes also have slip-on lids provided with a ring handle. In the gold tube nothing was found but a minute quantity of some brownish substance and two drops of liquid (Plate XXXIV, *b* and *c*). Dr. E. H. Hankin, the Chemical Examiner stationed at Agra, was good enough to examine a specimen of the contents of the copper pot, but he could not discern any traces of human bones. It proved to be sand mixed with vegetable matter and a little chalk.

On the assumption that what we had found was a later deposit, the shaft was continued, though lessened in width to six feet. At a depth of 34′ from the top a circular plinth was noticed, about 9″ from the centre of the *Stūpa* and at a level with the virgin soil. We dug about 2′ 9″ deeper down, but nothing came to light except a piece of rotten wood, and as water began to percolate here in abundance, digging was discontinued. The circular plinth found at the bottom of the shaft turned out to belong to a perfect little *stūpa*, about 9′ 3″ high, with a small niche (1′ 9″ high, 1′ $6\frac{1}{2}''$ wide and 1′ $7\frac{1}{2}''$ deep) which enshrines a well-modelled terra-cotta Buddha figure, sitting cross-legged in meditation and facing west.[2] The position of this little *stūpa* encompassed by the larger monument will be clear from the drawings (Nos. 288-289) reproduced in Plates XXXIII and XXXIV, which will, I believe, replace a detailed description. The long and narrow cavity in the top of the dome was evidently intended for holding the staff of an umbrella The niche was all filled with bricks of the same kind as those used in the large *stūpa* and was covered up with *chunam* plaster, as was

[1] *Cf.* Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions* [*Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III], pp. 272 ff ; Plate XL, *C* See also *A.S.R.* for 1906-7, pp. 49 ff.

[2] Facing west, I was told by a Buddhist monk, signifies departure from this world. *Cf.* Hindi *pachhar gayā*. Besides, according to a Buddhist text, the Buddha died lying with his face towards the west, and the Nirvāṇa statue of Kasiā is consequently shown in that position [In later Nirvāna statues this is not always the case. The colossus of Pegu in Burma, *e.g*, faces east, the head lying to the south.—*Ed.*]

the rest of the drum. With a view to ascertain whether there was any other niche, a funnel, 2′ wide and 2′ 10½″ high, was dug all round the little *stūpa*, but for the rest it was found to be quite plain. The interior was also examined down to the water level, but the only finds made here consisted of some charcoal and a small earthen pot. The latter was found deposited at the centre, a little above the halo of the terra-cotta Buddha and contained earth and pieces of charcoal, evidently taken from the funeral pyre of some Buddhist. Obviously the small *stūpa* was already in existence when the large *stūpa* was raised. Its perfect preservation, however, prevents us from assigning to it a date much anterior to that of the main monument. It will be remembered that in the course of previous explorations several small *stūpas* have been found which are partly concealed in the plinth on which the *Nirvāṇa* temple and *Stūpa* stand.[1]

b.—Building Q.

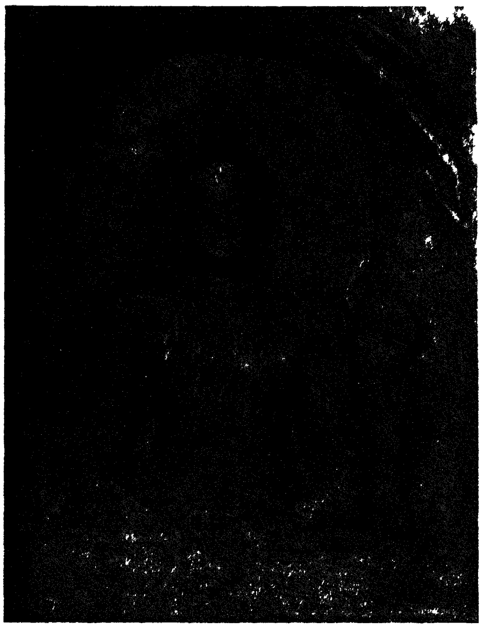
The area to the north-west of the Nirvāṇa temple was but little explored in the course of previous campaigns. Mr. Carlleyle opened the well to the west and Dr. Vogel made some trial excavations on this part of the mound. As in so close proximity to the main monuments some important remains were reasonably to be expected, I dug a trial trench some 30′ to the east of the monastery *D*, but to a considerable depth I found nothing but brick-bats and fallen earth. At last, at a depth of 9′, I struck the corner of a room belonging to a building (*Q*), which appears to be monastic and on account of its low level must be of considerable antiquity. Another trench to the west of the well exposed a curved wall, of only a single layer of bricks, which ends abruptly on both sides, the two ends being 53′ apart. This building (*Q*) has only been partially exposed and it would be premature to surmise its plan. Evidently it was a fairly large structure, as so far a row of several rooms some 100′ long, has been laid bare on the west. The room on the north-west corner and the second from it towards south-west, measuring 8′ square, appear to be monastic cells. Near the entrance of the last one of the series that have yet been opened a mass of charcoal was found—a circumstance which would indicate that the structure was consumed by fire. The walls of this structure, so far exposed, are only 16″ thick and could not have been intended to support more than a one-storied building. While removing the débris in order to clear the second room at the north-west corner, we found, 5′ below the present surface, several very large baked bricks—larger than any yet found on this site—placed side by side. They measure 25″ by 14″ by 5″ and are all plain; perhaps they were intended to be used as floor-tiles.

Near the north-west corner of the plinth of *A* there is a little *stūpa* which was examined in previous excavations. The shaft sunk before was now carried down to a depth of 14′ and a wall running north and south was found beneath. It is not impossible that this wall is the eastern extremity of *Q*. From the western wall its distance is about 56′.

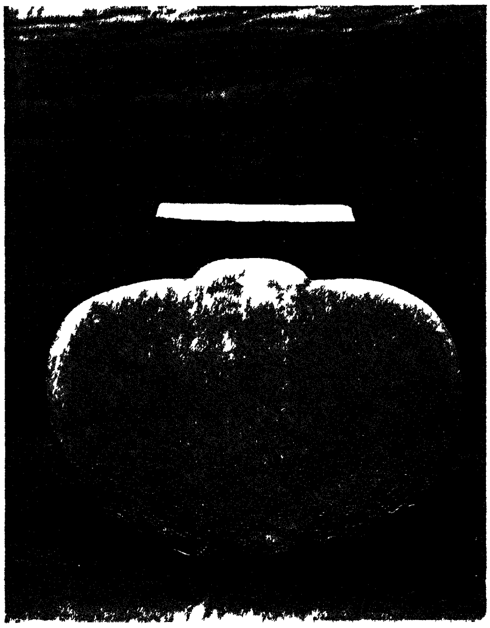
To the north and east of the well and 4′ 3″ above the floor of the old structure, a regular pavement of bricks came to light. Here was found a fragmentary seal-die with legend *Kēsari* in Gupta script (Plate XXXIV, *e*).

[1] It still happens in Burma that in the construction of a large pagoda small monuments existing on the spot merge into the new monument. I noticed it in a recent restoration of the Mahazadi (*Mahachetiya*) at Pegu.—Ed.

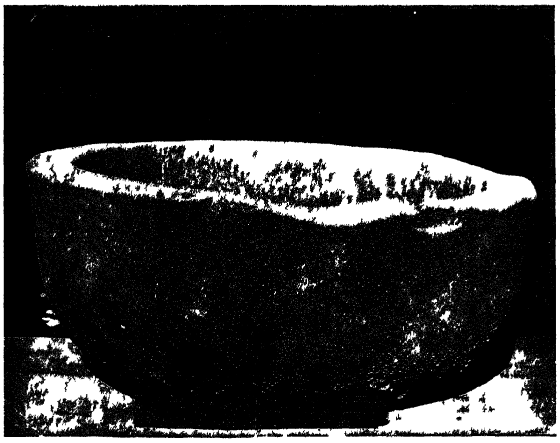
EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA



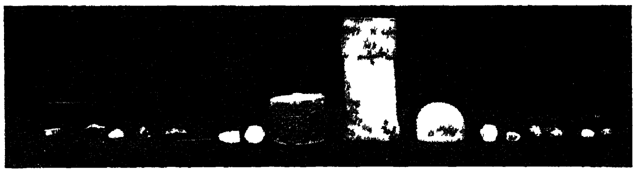
(*a*) BUDDHA ON SMALL CHAITYA



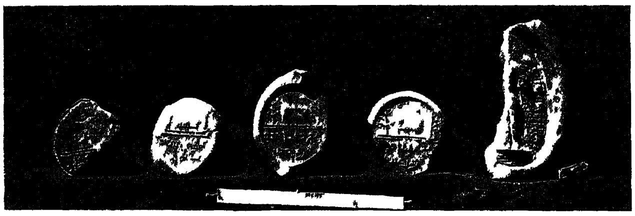
(*b*) COPPER VESSEL FROM NIRVANA STUPA



(*d*) STONE TUB.



(*c*) RELICS FROM NIRVANA STUPA.



(*e*) CLAY SEALINGS



(*f*) POTTERY.

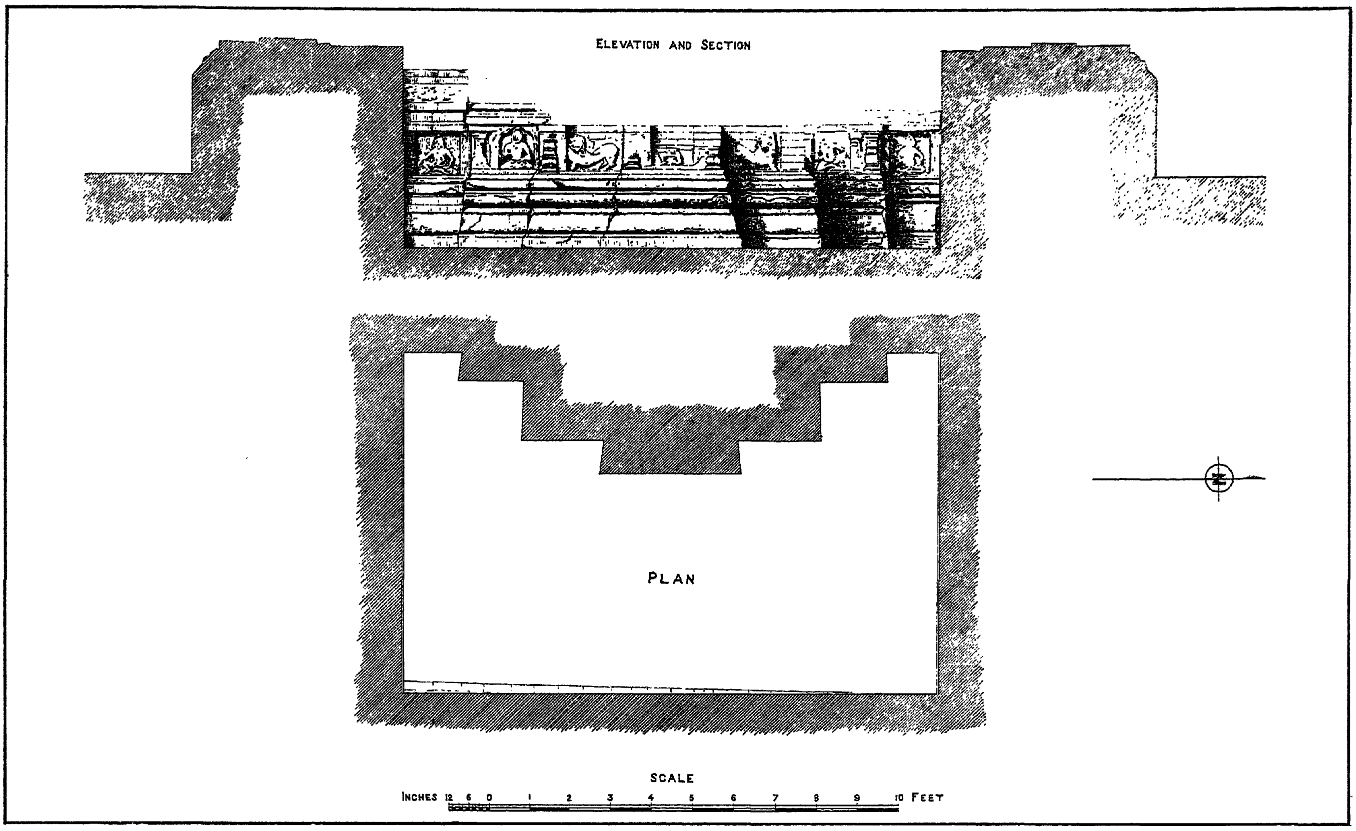


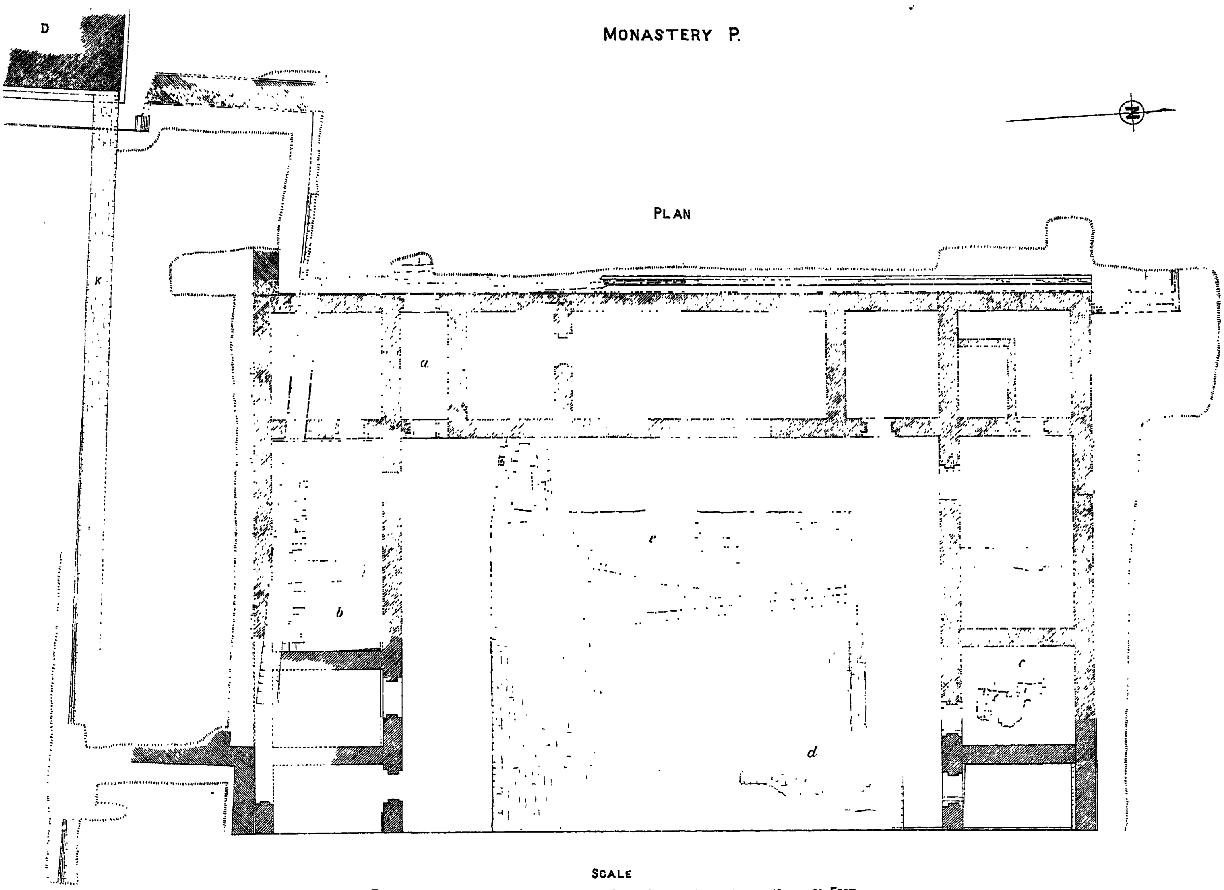
(*g*) CARVED BRICKS FROM RAMABHAR.

PLATE XXXV.

EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA.

KALACHURI MONASTERY: PEDESTAL IN CHAPEL.





BHOORA MULL.

This part of the site produced several more minor antiquities. In the room adjoining the passage near the north-west corner room a clay seal bearing the legend *Kumārāmātyasya* in the Gupta script was found at a depth of 9′. In the third room from the north-west corner, at a depth of 9′, we found a clay sealing with the coffin of the Buddha between the twin *sāl* trees and under it the legend (l. 1) *Mahāparinirvāṇa* (l. 2) *bhikshu-saṅgha*. Another well-preserved sealing, slightly differing in legend, which reads: (l. 1) *Mahāparinirvāṇa bhikshu* (l. 2) *saṅghasya*, was found in the second room at a depth of 10′ 6″.[1] Another sealing, much damaged but identical with that last mentioned, was found near the outer wall of the northern room. A fragmentary votive clay tablet with standing Maitrēya and parts of the creed formula was found in the third room (Plate XXXIV, *e*). The legends are written in Gupta script of the same type which palæographically may be ascribed to about the fourth century of the Christian era.

Fragments of Muttra stone were found in abundance to the east of the well, which is remarkable in view of the extreme scarcity of stone on the Kasiā site. Unfortunately these chips do not join to form anything definite. Pieces of a large terra-cotta image were found in the sixth cell and in the other cells (Nos. 3-5), fragmentary terra-cotta figures came to light together with good pottery, the best specimen being a clay censer with a crocodile mouth (Plate XXXIV, *f*). By the outer wall of the sixth room from the north was found a small silver coin, apparently a *satrap* coin (perhaps of Dāmasēna). Built on the eastern walls of the two rooms, *viz.*, 3rd and 4th from the end, a wall, 25′ 9″ long, was also exposed. This appears to be the western side of a later *stūpa*. Thus there appears to be three stages of habitation at *Q*:—first, that of the monastic building; second, that of the *pakka* brick flooring, and, third, that of the memorial *stūpas*. The first, on the evidence of the coin, does not appear to have been later than the advent of the Gupta dynasty. That *Q* is earlier than the large monastery *D* is shown by the difference in level, that of the latter being higher by 6′ 9″. The third stage does not appear to be earlier than the 10th century, for these *stūpas* are the latest extant on the site.

c.—Monastery P.

To the north-west of the *Nirvāṇa* temple near the boundary of the site were found the remains of another building of the monastery type (Plate XXXI). This edifice (*P*) which must have been contemporaneous with the adjoining quadrangle (*I*) is a rectangular building, measuring 102′ 9″ by 67′ 9″ externally. It has four rooms on the north and south sides and three on the west. The eastern side adjoining the monastery *I* is left open so as to form a spacious courtyard. The small room on the west side which is marked by the letter *a* on the plan seems to be a passage. The room *b*, measuring 26′ 9″ by 13′ 9″ interiorly, contains several hearths and must have served as a kitchen. The room *c* to the north was probably a shrine, to judge from the extant portion of a masonry pedestal with a hollow to fit in a statue. The adjoining room opposite the kitchen was perhaps used as a bath, if we may judge by the traces of a drain. Here a large stone tub, 2′ 1¼″ in diameter and 2½″ in thickness, was unearthed. This room has remains of a partition wall, like the small room in

[1] The legend differs from that on the seals discovered by Dr. Vogel in 1905-06.

the north-west corner where the two partition walls are still standing to a height of 2′. Two masonry pedestals were found in the courtyard. The whole monastery is paved with large brick tiles as is the case with building *I*. It may perhaps be surmised that, while the structure *I* supplied dwellings to pilgrims, the building *P* served as a refectory (*pāka* or *bhōjanaśālā*).

While clearing the débris of previous excavations we found several *Nirvāṇa* sealings of clay of the same type as those discovered in 1906-07, but mostly fragmentary. A few personal sealings, listed below, were obtained from the débris in the courtyard and the northern rooms. No other antiquities of any kind came to light; a circumstance quite compatible with the assumption that the later monasteries were gradually deserted by the occupants in the expiring days of Indian Buddhism.

d.—The Kalachuri Monastery.

In 1876, as noted above, Mr. A. C. Carlleyle discovered a little square temple, which, as he recognized, once enshrined the colossal stone Buddha image, standing under a *pipal* tree near by. In clearing the interior of the cella, I exposed an elaborate masonry pedestal (Plate XXXV) on which the image must have originally stood. The ornamentation resembles that on the base of the image itself. The image, that had considerably suffered from exposure and was broken in two pieces, was repaired and replaced in its original position inside the shrine. The cella measures 13′ 3″ by 12′ 6″ interiorly and the *siṁhāsana* is about 3′ 7″ high from the floor level.

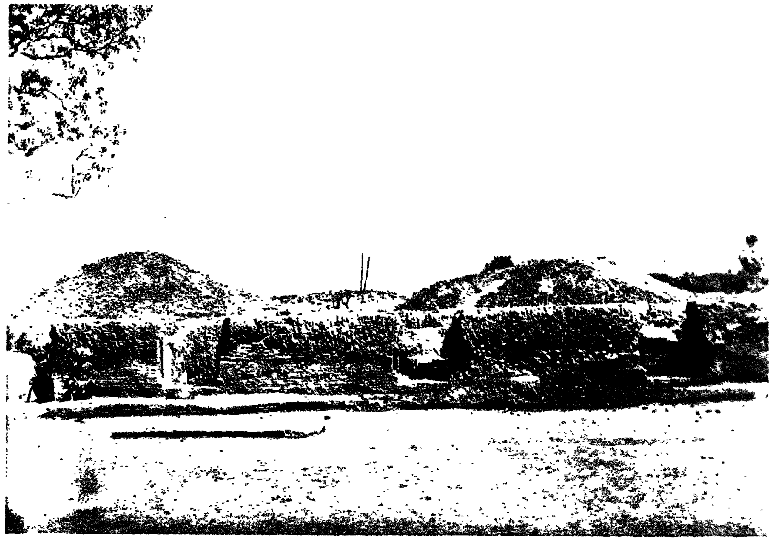
In exploring the site around, it was found that the so-called temple is in reality a chapel making part of a monastery of the same type as that excavated at Sahēṭh,[1] the ancient Jētavana, in the Bahraich District of the United Provinces. The building has not yet completely been excavated, but the plan may be surmised by comparison with that of the Sahēṭh monastery. In both cases the chapel occupies the centre of the western row of cells, but has the appearance of a detached building being isolated by a procession path, which, however, must have been covered. To allow sufficient room for both the chapel and the enclosing procession path, the central portion of the outer wall was made to project. From the above it is evident that the chapel was orientated east like the whole convent, the main entrance of the latter being in the centre of the east wall. As Dr. Vogel has pointed out, this arrangement agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's description of a *saṅghārāma* which ends with the sentence : "the door opens towards the east : the royal throne also faces east." Dr. Vogel wrote in 1907 : "All evidence points to the fact that the chapel of a Buddhist convent is to be sought right opposite the main entrance. It follows that, as the *saṅghārāma*, according to Hiuen Tsiang, ought to face east, the chapel will have the same orientation, and we are led to the conclusion that his 'royal throne' (used as *pars pro toto*) is nothing but the *siṁhāsana* of the Buddha image enshrined in that chapel." The correctness of these observations is borne out by recent discoveries at Kasiā.

To the north of the chapel, two cells, likewise orientated east and measuring

[1] See *A.S.R.*, 1907-8, p. 118 ff ; plate XXXIV.



(*a*) KALACHURI MONASTERY; FROM SOUTH-WEST.



(*b*) KALACHURI MONASTERY; NORTHERN ROW OF CELLS, FROM SOUTH.



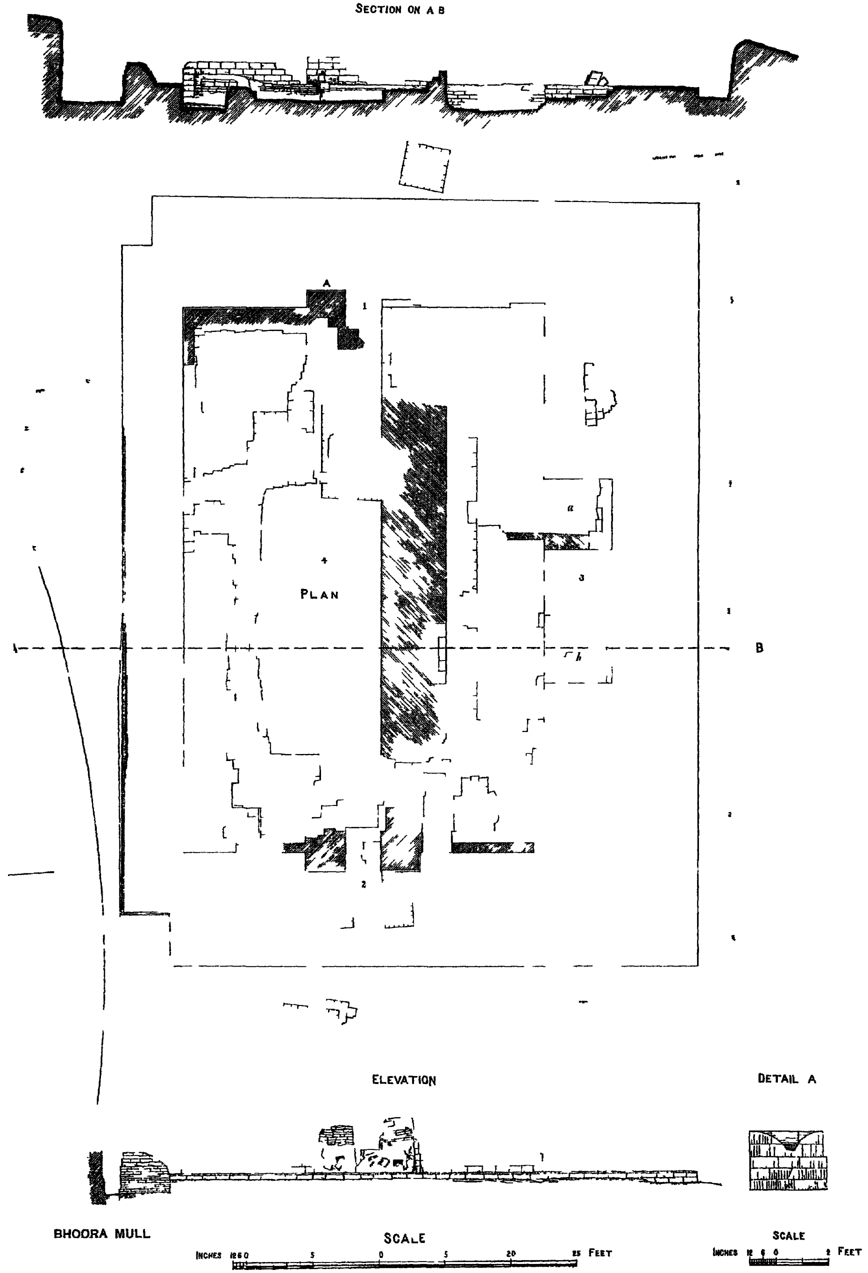
(*c*) BUILDING ADJOINING RAMABHAR STUPA; FROM WEST.



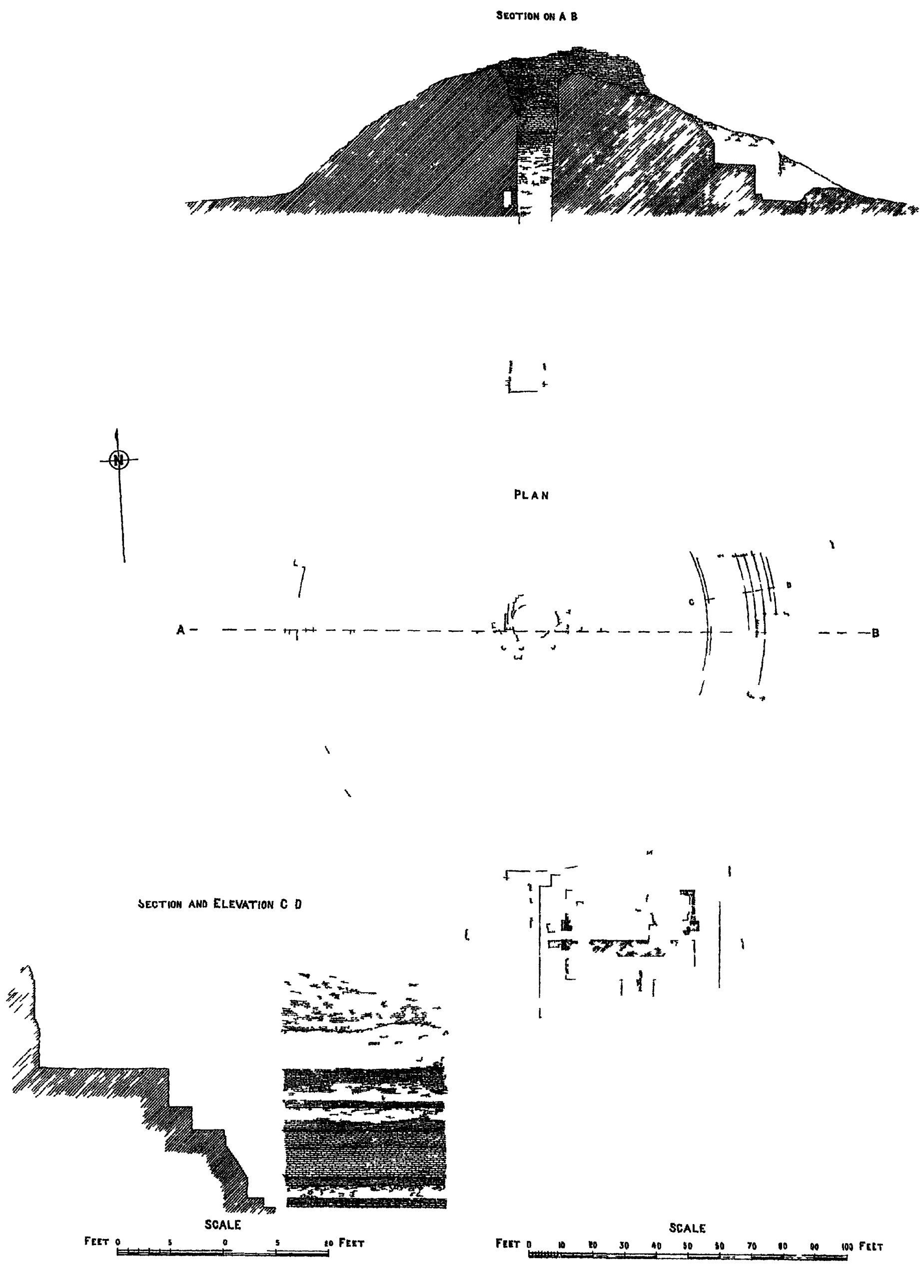
(*d*) BUILDING ADJOINING RAMABHAR STUPA, DETAIL; FROM WEST.

PLATE XXXVII.

BUILDING NEAR RAMABHAR STUPA



RAMABHAR STUPA



11′ by 11′ 3″ and 11′ by 10′ 7″, have been cleared. Of the two corresponding rooms on the south only one has been opened. Two slightly raised platforms, one on each side of the chapel, were perhaps intended for statues. In front of the row of cells there ran a corridor, 8′ 6″ wide, along the four sides of the courtyard. This corridor was only partly exposed. On the north side were found three rooms, measuring about 10′ 6″ by 11′, while on the south there must have been a corresponding row. The doors to the cells, which are 3¼′ wide, are not placed in the centre. The fact of their being bricked up deserves notice. Of the courtyard which is very nearly 44′ square, the north and west sides have been fully exposed and the east and south only partially. It has no pavement of any sort, but there is a narrow drain built of *pakka* bricks which runs northwards. So far no well has been found, but it is very likely that the courtyard contained one in the portion not yet excavated. In the north-west corner there is a masonry platform-like structure of only one layer of bricks the meaning of which is not clear. A later wall marked by pleasing mouldings is built on to the western wall and may have some connection with the structures of which traces are still to be seen in front of the chapel in the form of thick layers of concrete and *chunam.*

With the exception of a few clay sealings bearing the creed formula which were found in front of the chapel at the south side, and a copper coin, no finds of any importance were made. As remarked above this is quite in agreement with the assumption that this and the other buildings of the latest period of occupation were gradually deserted.

Its comparatively late date is evident not only from the size of the bricks used in it, but also from the general arrangement which agrees with that of Sahēṭh. The latter belongs to the 12th century and the monastery under discussion must be nearly contemporaneous. The inscription on the base of the Buddha image which was enshrined in the chapel, though much effaced, appears to be Nāgarī of the 11th or 12th century. Professor Kielhorn assigned the same date to the stone inscription which Mr. Carlleyle, as noted above, discovered near the chapel and which is now preserved in the Lucknow Museum.

e.—The Stūpa of Rāmābhar.

Rāmābhār is the name of the locality which Cunningham identified with *Makuṭābandhana,* the spot where the remains of Buddha were cremated.[1] Here on the western bank of a *jhil* called the Rāmābhār Tāl, nearly a mile south-west of Kasiā, there stands a ruined brick *stūpa,* circular in plan, which both in shape and material proves to be very ancient. The high antiquity of the building is evidenced by the very heavy square bricks of the Mauryan type of which it is mostly built. Years ago this monument was opened by a civil officer, but whether he found any relics or not is not known, as no account of his operations is available.[2] His opera-

[1] Cunningham *A.S.R.,* Vol. 1, p. 85, and Vol. XVIII, pp. 87 ff. *Cf. The Book of the Great Decease* [in *Buddhist Suttas,* translated from Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids. *Sacred Book of the East,* Vol. XI] pp. 123 ff.

[2] Mr. Carlleyle (*A. S. R.,* Vol. XVIII, p. 75) was informed that in the excavation nothing was found except a number of clay seals.

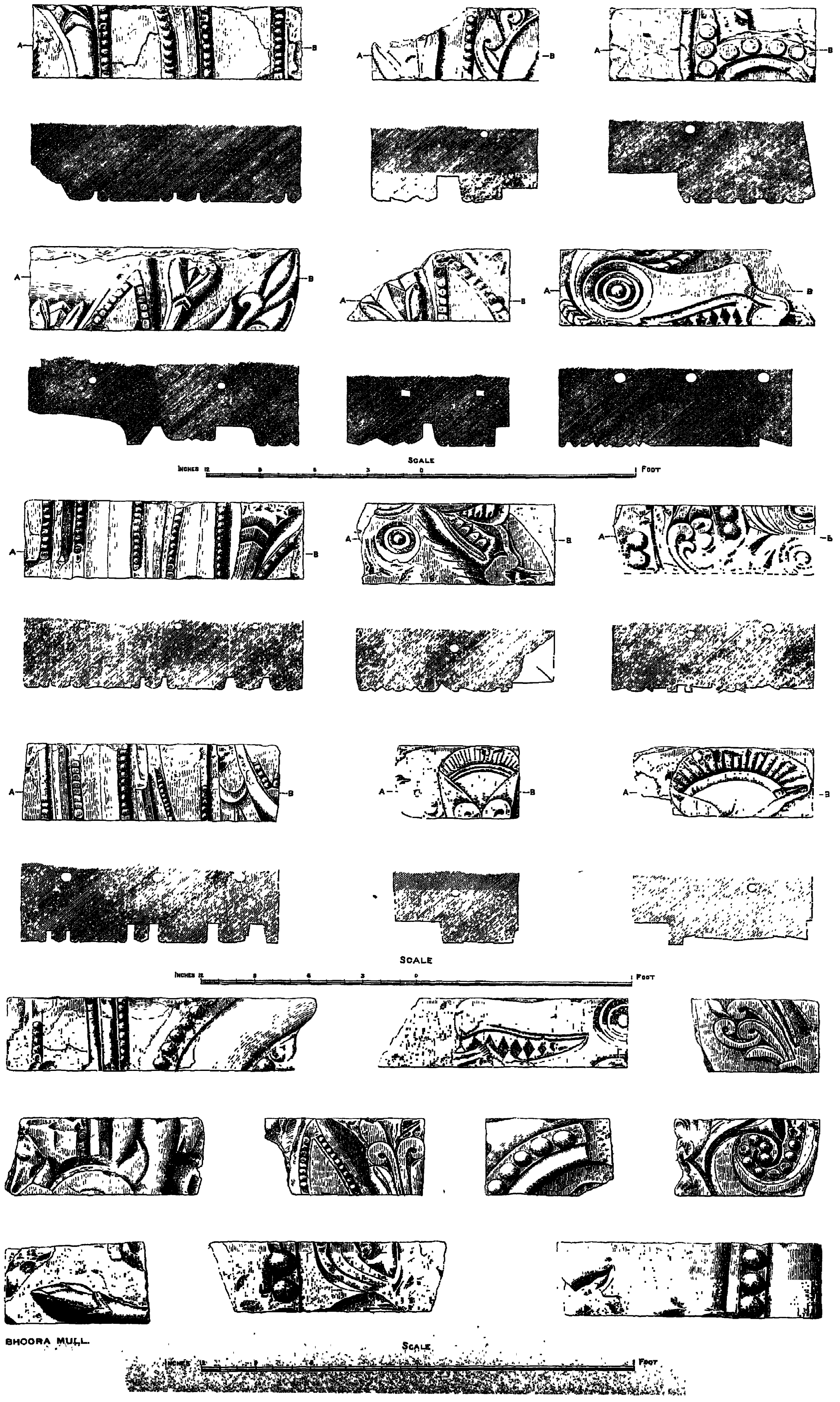
tions consisted of sinking a deep well about the middle of the structure, the depth of which, as measured by me, was 22′. As however, this shaft was not sunk in the exact centre nor carried down to virgin soil, it was thought advisable to examine the interior with greater accuracy so as to ascertain whether it yet contained a deposit of relics which had been missed by the previous explorer. Under Dr. Vogel's instructions, I proceeded first of all to fix the exact centre of the monument by determining the outline at the four cardinal points. After having found the centre, I sank a shaft with a radius of 2′ down to about 5′ below the water-level which was reached at 48′ from the top of the extant portion of the *stūpa*. At water-level and towards the west of the centre I noticed a brick flooring and corners of wallings, but these proved to be nothing but foundation walls. Apparently either no relics were deposited in this *chaitya* or they were rifled.

On the east side the surface of the *stūpa* was exposed over a distance of 50′. It will be seen from Plate XXXVII that the circular drum rests on a circular plinth which is built in terraces. It may be noted here that a circular basement is a sure sign of antiquity. The diameter of the plinth is 155′, that of the drum 112′ (about double that of the *Nirvāṇa Stūpa* (*A*) which is only 56′ 5″). Hundreds of clay-seals with the creed formula, evidently votive offerings, were found around the *stūpa*. Their lettering indicates a comparatively late date. Bricks of two sizes are used in the structure, those of the smaller kind, which are only found in the outer masonry, having evidently been employed in repairs.

There was some reason to assume that the Rāmābhār *Stūpa* was not a monument by itself, but formed the centre of a group of religious buildings. Excavation, however, revealed only structural remains to the south. Here we found a rectangular building, the nature of which is not clear. It lies quite close to the *Stūpa*, measures 40′ 6″ by 27′ 6″ externally, and is raised on a kind of platform measuring 56′ 9″ and 44′ with recessed corners at the north-west and north-east. This platform is built of small bricks and is covered with a thick layer of *chunam*. The inner structure, on the contrary, is built of very large bricks. The drawing (Plate XXXVII) and photographs (Plate XXXVI, *c* and *d*) here published will enable the reader to form an idea of the appearance of this mysterious structure. Mr. Gordon Sanderson, who agrees with me in assuming that the building does not bear any relation with the *stūpa* and was erected subsequently, is of opinion that it had two side entrances (marked 1 and 2), and a main entrance (marked 3) and that the room marked 4 was the central hall.

In the course of excavation we found here numerous specimens of large ornamental bricks of very unusual type, measuring between 2½′ by 7½″ by 5″ and 1′ 4″ by 8½″ by 5″. They are carved in such a fashion that the ornament, when joined together, must have formed human and other figures of sorts. A selection is illustrated in Plate XXXVIII. It may be noted that these bricks are pierced right through with holes, generally three in number and about a quarter of an inch in diameter. These do not appear to be meant for metal or wooden dowels, but may have been intended to let the fire of the kiln bake the bricks more thoroughly.

BRICKS, RĀMĀBHĀR



LIST OF FINDS.

I.—Coins.

1. Six silver coins of Kumāragupta. Fan-tailed peacock type. Found in *Nirvāṇa Stūpa* A.
2. One silver coin, Western Kshatrapa, perhaps of Dāmasēna. Found in building Q.
3. One copper coin, apparently late Kushāṇ. Found in chapel of Kalachuri Monastery.
4. One copper coin.

   Obverse : Horse walking to left. Legend *Jayaguptasya.*

   Reverse : Symbol within circle of dots.

From *Nirvāṇa stūpa* A.

II.—Clay seals and sealings.

a.—Monasteries.

1. Elliptical area (1¾″ by 1½″). Coffin between twin *sāl* trees over legend in Gupta characters of about the 4th century A.D.; eastern variety. (1) *Mahāparinirvv[āṇa]-bh[i]kshu-*(2)*saṅghasya.* "Of the Community of friars at the Great Decease." One complete specimen and one fragment. The back of the former is perfectly smooth and shows no string marks. Found at building Q.

2. Elliptical area (1¾″ by 1⅝″). Coffin between twin *sāl* trees, over legend in Gupta characters of about the 4th century A. D., western variety. (1) *Mahāparinirvāṇa-*(2) *bhikshusaṅgha.* "Of the community of friars at the Great Decease." The back is convex and shows a string mark. Found in building Q.

It deserves special notice that this sealing, as well as No. 1, differs from the specimens of the same period found in previous excavation. *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1905-06, p. 83, no. 1 and fig. 3, *a*.

3. Oval area (1⅛″ by 1″). Wheel-and-deer symbol over legend in characters of about the eighth century A.D. (1) *Śri-Mahāparinirvvāṇa-*(2) *mahāvihārīyārya-*(3) *bhikshu-saṅghasya.* "Of the community of reverend friars belonging to the great Convent of the blessed Great Decease." Twenty-one fragments. All the specimens have distinct string-marks on the back.

These sealings are from the same die as those found in previous excavation. *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1905-06, p. 84, no. 9 ; and for 1906-07, p. 63, no. 9. In the excavations of 1906-07, no less than forty complete specimens and two hundred fragments were found in the area to the east of Monastery D.

4. Circular area (diameter ¾″). Wheel-and-deer symbol over legend in characters of about the tenth century A.D. (1) *Śrī-Mahāparinirvvāṇa-*(2)*-vihārīyārya-bhikshu-*(3)*-saṅghasya.* "Of the community of reverend friars belonging to the Convent of the blessed Great Decease." Fifteen fragments. All the specimens have marks on the back. They are from the same die as those found in previous excavations. *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1905-06, p. 84, no. 12 ; and for 1906-07, p. 63, no. 10. In the excavations of 1906-07 no less than eighty complete specimens and hundred-and-eighty fragments were found in the area to the east of Monastery D.

b.—Officials.

5. Sealing with elliptical area (1¼″ by 1″). Wheel and tortoise symbols above legend in Gupta characters of about the *5th* century A.D. *Kumaramatyasya* (for *Kumārāmātyasya*). "Of the Councillor of the Prince."[1] We may compare the Gupta sealings with legend *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* found by Dr. Bloch at Basāṛh, the ancient Vaiśālī. *Cf. A. S. R.*, for 1903-04, pp. 103 and 107, no. 3.

[1] On the office of *kumārāmātya*, *cf.* Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 123.

c.—Private individuals.

6. Sealing with elliptical area ($\frac{5}{8}''$ by $\frac{1}{2}''$). Thunderbolt (?) over legend *Ratnamati.* Marks on back. Identical with *A. S. R.* for 1906-07, p. 65, no. 41.

7. Sealing with circular area ($\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter). Conch over, and conventional lotus under legend *Praśāntaśriprabha.* Identical with *A. S. R.* for 1906-07, p. 64, no. 16.

8. Sealing with circular area ($\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter). Scroll under legend [*Kama*]*laśrīprabha.* Two fragments. Marks on back. Identical with *A. S. R.* for 1906-07, p. 65, no. 44.

9. Sealing with elliptical area ($\frac{3}{4}''$ by $\frac{1}{2}''$). Legend *Suprabuddha.* One specimen. String mark on back.

10. Sealing with elliptical area ($\frac{3}{4}''$ by $\frac{3}{8}''$). Legend *Śrīnda.* One specimen. Identical with *A. S. R.* for 1906-07, p. 64, no. 23.

11. Sealing with elliptical area ($1\frac{1}{4}''$ by $1''$). Legend . . . *saṅghasya* or . . . *siṅghasya.* One fragment.

12. Sealing with legend . . . *saṅghasya* or . . . *singhasya.* One fragment.

d.—Miscellaneous.

13. Fragment of clay tablet. In sunk oval area (ht. c. $3\frac{1}{4}''$) figure of Bōdhisattva, standing with flower on long stem held in his left hand. Right half missing. Traces of halo round head. To proper left two miniature *stūpas* under which inscription in four lines, apparently portion of Buddhist creed formula. Characters late-mediæval.

14. Fragment of clay tablet. In sunk oval area ($2''$ by $1\frac{1}{2}''$?) a *stūpa* flanked by two smaller ones over inscription, defaced, perhaps Buddhist creed formula.

15. Clay tablet. In sunk elliptical area ($2''$ by $1\frac{3}{8}''$) figure of Bōdhisattva seated in *lalitāsana* with flower on long stem held in left hand. Halo round head. Miniature *stūpa* to proper left. Traces of inscription, probably Buddhist creed. Late-mediæval.

16. Fragment of clay seal-die, elliptical area ($1\frac{3}{4}''$? by $1\frac{1}{2}''$?) of horseman (?) over legend of which only the end *keriḥ* is preserved. Gupta period.

17. Some 300 clay tablets, mostly circular in shape, bearing the Buddhist creed formula in mediæval characters. The majority found round the Rāmābhār *Stūpa,* a few to the north-west of the *Nirvāṇa Stūpa* and some at the chapel of the Kalachuri Monastery.

18. Clay sealings. In circular area ($\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter) skeleton seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation. *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1906-07, p. 66, nos. 76-77.

HĪRĀNANDA ŚĀSTRĪ.

THE KASIA COPPER-PLATE.

THIS plate was found by Hirananda Śastri during the excavations that were undertaken by the Archæological Department at Kasiā in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces during the months January to April 1911.

An account of these excavations is published in this volume. In the large *stūpa* behind the Nirvāṇa temple, a shaft was sunk and a circular relic chamber was found, in which was a copper vessel, its mouth covered with this copper-plate. The plate showed the beginnings of several lines of writing, but only the first line is engraved, the rest being all written in black ink. Its written surface, being unprotected and turned upwards, was badly corroded. The copper vessel contained various articles, of which the only important items for the present purpose were some silver coins of Kumāragupta, the son and successor of Chandragupta II. As the condition of the copper-plate rendered it difficult to read the inscription on it, the plate was sent to Dr. Hoernle for examination, and at his request I undertook the duty.

The plate, when received, was almost altogether covered with verdigris and deeply corroded in large portions, the only parts of the inscription that were visible being the incised portion of the first line and a few letters in ink near the beginning of the second, third and fourth lines. The first business was to clean the plate without injuring the ink. It was photographed by Dr. Hoernle soon after I had begun cleaning it, and its then appearance is reproduced as figure A in the annexed Plate XXXIX, which shows the obverse side as it was when received except that the legible portion near the beginning of lines 2-6 was only about one-quarter that shown in the photograph. By very careful cleaning the verdigris was so far removed from the whole of the obverse side that the letters written on it were laid open, except where corrosion had destroyed the surface and the ink also. The ink used appears to have contained a considerable quantity of oil, because it has hardened to a smooth crust and is little affected by water. The oil seems to have had some preservative effect on the plate also, because in large portions, though verdigris had spread over the surface, yet the metal has been little injured and the ink has remained with only partial damage beneath the verdigris. The cleaned plate is

shown as figure B in the Plate, in which the letters have been rendered brighter by being damped with oil.

The plate is 16·4 inches (46 c. m.) long, 6·2 inches (15·8 c. m.) broad and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch (3 m. m.) thick; and weighs 2 lbs. $1\frac{3}{4}$ oz. (just under a kilogramme).

The inscription is in thirteen lines on the obverse side only, of which only the first line (with the exception of the last three or four letters) has been incised. The reverse side is somewhat less corroded than the obverse side, because it remained downward in the *stūpa*. It has no inscription and, though a few traces as of ink letters seem to present themselves here and there, yet nothing appears to have been written on it, and those seeming traces of letters do not suggest anything more than that, if anything was ever written on it, that writing was washed off. One most interesting feature in the plate is that it reveals how copper-plates were inscribed. The inscription was first written out in ink on the plate, and when the ink dried the plate was given to the engraver to cut the written letters into the metal. Apparently only one side was done at a time, for, if both sides were written at once, the writing on the reverse would probably be spoilt while the obverse was being incised. If the engraver were skilled or careful, the incision would be good; if he were inexperienced, he would probably bungle the incision; and if he happened through carelessness to blur or rub out part of a letter, he would make a mistake.

The characters are of the form of the Northern Gupta script with which many of the manuscripts discovered by Dr. Stein in Thibet have familiarised us, and is of its western variety. The letters have been written with a reed, and their main lines and wedge-shaped tops are thick. The engraver who was employed to cut the letters in the metal was manifestly inexperienced and did not know how to incise them aright. Sometimes he cut along the middle of the thick strokes and sometimes along one or other edge, with the result that he has bungled most of the letters in the first line. This appears most distinctly in their wedge-shaped tops, for he has cut the tops sometimes as a plain bar,[1] sometimes as a doubled-up bar,[2] sometimes as a complete hollow triangle,[3] sometimes as a hollow triangle with its lower angle open,[4] and sometimes as a quadrilateral.[5] Hardly any letter that recurs is incised twice alike. In fact his work was so unsatisfactory, that the incision of the rest of the inscription was evidently given up and the plate was accepted as it was, written only with ink.

The language is Sanskrit, and the matter inscribed is the *Nidānasūtra*, the *Paṭichcha-samuppāda*, followed by the dedication and closing with the statement that this copper-plate was placed in the [*Pari*]*nirvāṇa-chaitya*. The *sūtra* is found in various Buddhist books,[6] but this version resembles most closely the inscription on certain bricks, found at Gopālpur in this same district Gorakhpur, and published by Mr. V. A. Smith and Dr. Hoey,[7] but is rather fuller. The inscription on those

[1] See *v* in *gavāñ* and *r* in *ārāmē*.

[2] See *t* in *śrutam*.

[3] See *k* in *ēka*, *t* in *Jētavanē*, and *d* in *piṇḍadasya*.

[4] See *v* in *ēvaṁ* and *Jētavanē*, and *n* in *Anātha*.

[5] See *v* in *Chhrāvastyāṁ* and *n* in *Jētavanē*

[6] *E.G. Vinaya Piṭaka*, vol. 1, p. 1.

[7] *Proc., A.S.B.* 1896, p. 99. I have to thank Dr. Hoernle for this reference.

bricks is of the greatest help in elucidating the passages in this plate which have perished.

The donor is Haribala. This name recalls the inscription on the pedestal of the colossal stone statue of Buddha recumbent, found during the excavations made at this same place Kasiā in the years 1875-77. That inscription has been edited by Dr. Fleet and states that the statue was the gift of *mahā-vihāra-svāmin Haribala*, "Haribala, the chief superintendent of the vihāras," of which there were several there.[1] There can be no reasonable doubt that these two Haribalas are one and the same person, for the two inscriptions belong to the same period as will be seen. Haribala is not described by that title in this plate, but by the title *svāmin* preceded by some words which have become obliterated and were probably *anēka-vihāra* (see line 12 of this inscription and note thereto), for it is impossible to read the letters and the blank preceding the word *svāminō* as *mahā-vihāra*. The terms *mahā-vihāra-svāmin* and *anēka-vihāra-svāmin* are no doubt equivalent.

After the usual pious aspiration occur the words "the Śākya bhiksu Dharmananda rejoices (*or* offers thanks) everywhere." Who he was, why he is mentioned, and why on this particular occasion it is said he rejoiced "everywhere," are obvious questions of which I can suggest no explanation.[2]

The date of this plate can be fixed by means of the coins found with it, though it bears no date. Some silver coins of Kumāragupta, son and successor of Chandragupta II, were found in the copper vessel which this plate covered, but none of his successor Skandagupta. Kumāragupta died in 455 A.D.; hence we may infer that this plate cannot well be much later than his death, and its age may probably be fixed within the third quarter of the 5th century. Dr. Fleet has assigned the statue to about the end of the 5th century A.D. on palœographical grounds. My estimate virtually agrees with his, and no great interval can have separated the two gifts.

The *stūpa*, in which this plate was deposited, is the large *stūpa* behind the *Nirvāṇa* temple, and is named in the inscription the *Nirvāṇa-chaitya* certainly and the *Parinirvāṇa-chaitya* probably. This name was therefore attached by the middle of the 5th century A.D. to this spot as being the place of Buddha's death. From the bald way in which this statement is added at the end of the inscription, it would seem that the belief was firmly established then, so that this plate virtually testifies that tradition had declared even earlier than that, that Buddha died at Kasiā and that Kasiā is Kuśinagara.

Portions of the inscription that are altogether obliterated are enclosed in square brackets, and in many places it is possible to restore them wholly or in the main from the version on the bricks. This has been done, and notes are added only where there is some difference. Letters which are partially obliterated, but which can be made out from the traces which remain, are printed in italics. Final consonants are sometimes written in it small and below the level of the line with circumflex-like mark above, and are then written singly in the transliteration

[1] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 272; *A. S. R.*, 1906-7, pp. 46 ff. I have to thank Dr. Vogel for this reference.

[2] At first I read the dedication as implying that Dharmananda was the donor and was son of Haribala, and said so in the note about this plate in J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 152; but that view was erroneous.

without the mark = connecting them with the following word. The photograph gives an excellent reproduction of the plate, though a few letters have not come out quite clearly. The lines are, of course, not numbered on the plate.

Text.

1. Ēvaṁ mayā śrutam=ēkagmi[1] dhru[2]mayē śa[3] gavāñ=Chhrāvastyāṁ biharati[4] sma Jētavanē Ānāthapiṇḍadasy=ârāmē[5] [.. .. ..[6]]

2. tatra [Bha]*ga*vān=bhikshūn=āma [.. .. ..[7]] dha[rmā-ṇāṁ vō bhikshavaḥ .. ..[8] dēśa]*yish*yāmy=apachayaṁ cha[9] tach-chhṛi[ṇuta .. ..[10] sādhu cha]

3. sushṭhu cha manasi kuruta Bhāshis*hyē* [dharmā]*ṇā*[11][m-āchayaḥ katamō yadut=âsmin sat=îdaṁ bhava]ti. Asy=ôtpādād=i[dam=utpadyatē Yadut=â]

4. vidyā-pratyayāḥ saṁ*sk*ārāḥ saṁskāra-pratyayaṁ vijñā*naṁ* [vijñāna-pratya-yaṁ nāmarūpaṁ nāmarūpa-prat]y[ayaṁ] shaḍ-āyatanam *shaḍ-ā*[yatana-pratyayaḥ sparśaḥ]

5. sparśa-*prat*yayā vēdanā vēdanā-pratyayā tṛishṇā tṛish*ṇā*-[pratyayam=upādā-nam=upādāna-pratyayō bhuvō] *bhu*va[12]-pratyayā jāti[r=jāti-pratyayā ..[13] jarā]

6. maraṇa-śōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmanasy-ôpā[yāsā bhavanti. Ēvam=asya kēvala]sya *maha*[tō[14] du]ḥkha-*skandhas*ya samuda[yō bhavati .. ..[15] Aya-]

7. [m=u]chyatē dharmā*ṇām*=āchayaḥ Dharmāṇām=apachayaḥ kata*ma*ḥ] ..

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[1] This letter looks like *gmi* with the *m* indistinctly incised, and is no doubt meant for *smi*, the word intended being *ekasmin*.

[2] This letter as incised resembles *dhru*, and before it is a small space, which could contain a small letter. This letter, with or without that space, is no doubt meant for *n=sa* or *n sa*, for the reading *ēkasmin samayē*.

[3] This letter resembles *śa*, and has after it a blank space which could contain one letter. The first letter of the following word *bhagavān* has not been incised, and was no doubt meant to fill the blank space. I do not know what *śa* is intended for, unless perhaps it is a mistake for *na*, with the reading (if defiance of grammar may be supposed) *ēkasmin samayēna*, for the instrumental is often used in Buddhist writings to denote a point of time.

[4] The first letter is clearly *bi* and not *vi*, as incised.

[5] The *m* is a confused letter, rather suggestive of *ṇ*.

[6] There is room for 3, or perhaps 4, letters here. Part of the first has been incised and resembles the left portion of *a*, and with it ends the attempt to cut the written matter into the plate. Perhaps the reading should be *āgamya* or some such expression.

[7] This blank could contain 5 or 6 letters. The first portion is no doubt *ntrayati sma* (as on the bricks) or *ntrayāmāsa*, but there still remain one or two spaces for more letters than occur on the bricks.

[8] The first and last portions of this blank can be confidently filled up from the bricks, but in the middle portion which could contain 6 or 7 letters, the bricks suggest only 4 letters *āchayaṁ cha*.

[9] After this *cha* appears a small *ta* in writing, which has been cut into by the letter *ṇḍa* in the line above. Apparently it only represents the *ta* of the following word *tach*, which had to be written more to the right in order to avoid that letter *ṇḍa*.

[10] The first and last portions of this blank can be filled up confidently from the bricks, but there are still one or two letters more than the bricks have.

[11] This letter, so far as it appears, looks more like *nā* than *ṇā*.

[12] The first letter certainly looks more like *bhu* than *bha*. It occurs again in l. 9 and there also looks like *bhu*. If so, the scribe has written *bhava* as *bhuva*.

[13] This blank can be filled up with certainty from the authorities, except that there is space for one more letter; and *cha* would be suitable in every way.

[14] The use of *kēvalasya* and *mahatō* occurs elsewhere also, as in l. 10; and in l. 7 on the back of the bricks.

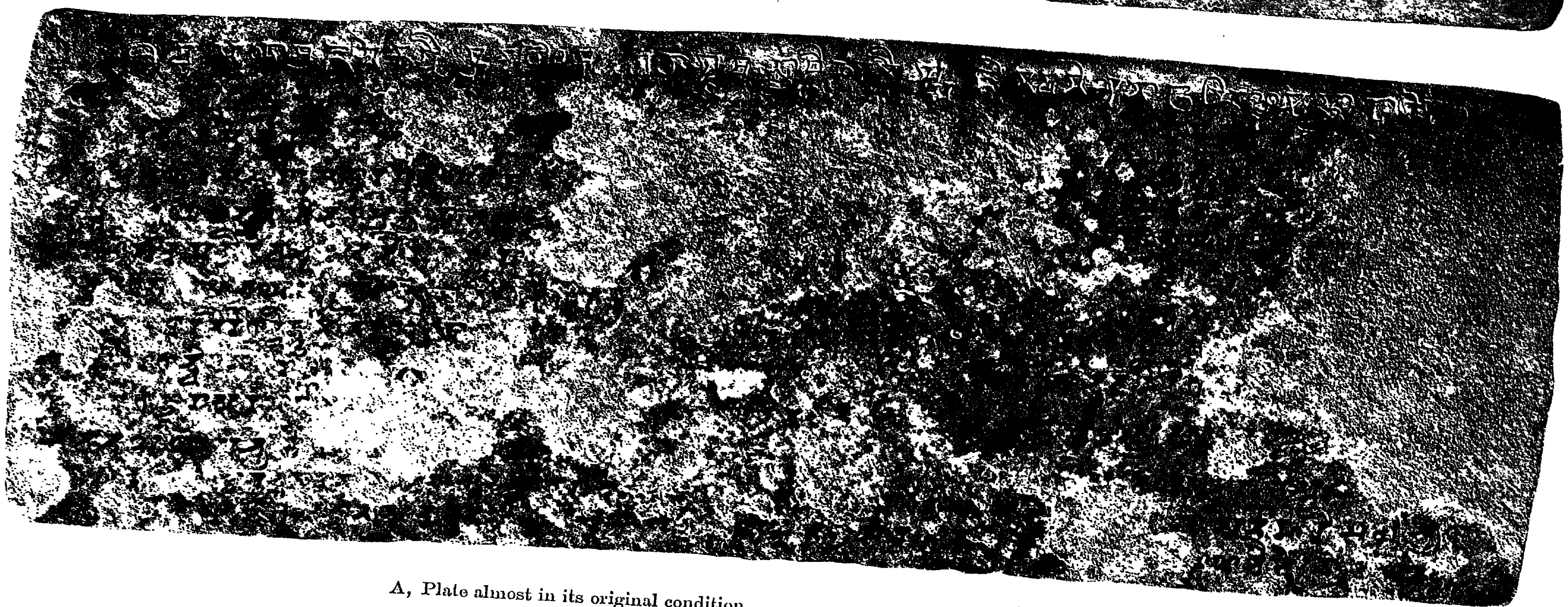
[15] This blank can be filled up confidently from the bricks; yet there seems to be room requiring one or two more letters.

COPPER PLATE FOUND IN THE NIRVANA STUPA AT KASIA IN 1911

A



B



A, Plate almost in its original condition.

B, Plate after being cleaned.

[.. .. ..]*tada*[1] na bhavaty=asya *ni*rōdhād=i[.. [2]] niruddhyatē [.. .. .. [3]]

8. *ni*[rō]*dhaḥ saṁ*skāra-nirōdhād-vijñāna-nirōdhaḥ vijñā*na-nirō*dhā*n=nā*[ma-rūpa-ni]rōdhaḥ nāmarūpa-nirōdhāt=shaḍ=āyatana-nirōdhaḥ sha[ḍ-āyatana-nirōdhāt=sparśa-nirōdhaḥ]

9. *spar*śa-nirōdhād=vē*danā*-nirōdhō vedanā-*ni*[rōdhāt=trishṇā-]*ni*[rōdhaḥ trishṇā]-*nirōdhād=upādā*[na-n]irōdhaḥ upādāna-nirōdhād=bhuva[4]-*nirō*dhaḥ[bhuva-nirōdhāj-jāti-nirōdhō]

10. jā[ti]-*ni*rōdhāj-jarā-maraṇa-*śōka*-[paridēva]-*duḥkha*-[daurmanasy-ō]*pāyā-sā niru*ddhyantē Ēvam=asya *kē*valasya ma*ha*[tō] duḥ*kha*-[skandhasya nirōdhō],

11. bhavati Ayam=*uch*yatē dharmm[āṇām=apacha]yaḥ *Dharmmāṇāṁ vō* bhikshavaḥ *ā*[chaya]ṁ cha *dēśayishyāmy=apacha*yaṁ cha iti mē ya[d=uktam=idam=ē]

12. [ta]*t=pra*tyukta*m*=I[dam=a]*vō*chad=Bhagavān=Ā[tta-ma]nāsas[5]=tē bhikshavō *Bhagavatō* [bhāshitam=a]*bhya*nan*da*[n. Dē]yadharmō yaṁ anē[ka [6] vihāra[7]]-s*v*āminō Haribalasya ya[d=a-

13. tra] pu[ṇyaṁ] *ta*d[=bh]avat[u] [8] sarva-satvānām=anuttara-jñān-â*v*āptayē Śākya[9] [bhi-]kshur=Dharmanandō sarvatr=ânumōdatē[. .. .. ni[10]]rvāṇa-chaityē tāmra-paṭṭa *iti*.

Translation.

[It is unnecessary to translate more than the dedication at the end, and it runs thus:—]

This is the pious gift of Haribala, the superintendent of many vihāras. Whatever religious merit there is herein, let it tend to the acquisition of the sublime knowledge by all creatures. The Śākya bhikṣu Dharmānanda rejoices [11] everywhere. This copper-plate *is* in the [Pari]nirvāṇa chaitya.

F. E. PARGITER.

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[1] There is much more matter here than is found on the bricks, and judging from the analogous construction in l. 3, the reading should probably be something like *yadut=âsmin=sat=idaṁ*, and the letters *tada* which are legible (while their vowel marks, if superscript, are destroyed by verdigris) might well represent *t=idaṁ*. The blank space could contain 5 or 6 letters, and the letters *yadut=âsmin=sa* could well fill it.

[2] Judging from the analogy in l. 3, read *daṁ* here probably.

[3] Part of the first letter here is visible and suggests *ya*, and what this blank must contain is manifest from the bricks and other authorities. Judging from the analogy in l. 3, the reading should probably be *yadut=âvidyā-nirōd-dhāt=saṁskāra*—which would suit the space, if written closely, as is done in some other places.

[4] See note 12 to line 5.

[5] *Sic*, apparently.

[6] The *anē* is quite clear, and the following letter can only be *ka*. The only other possible word *anēna* is untenable.

[7] There is room for 3 letters here. They are completely destroyed except that the right portion of the last is visible and is a perpendicular bar with a trace of a leftward stroke at the bottom, so that the last letter might be *r* or any letter formed with a bar down its right side (such as *m*, etc.). The word is probably *vihāra* as explained in the introductory remarks.

[8] This is the usual Buddhist formula in inscriptions of this time, and I have to thank Dr. Vogel for suggesting it, in correction of my tentative reading otherwise.

[9] The expression Śākya-bhiksu occurs in other inscriptions, see *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 272, 279, 280, 282.

[10] A new sentence evidently begins in this space, so that there was presumably a mark of punctuation after *anumōdatē*, and the remainder of the space would contain 3 letters. The last letter was no doubt *ni*, and the two preceding could hardly have been anything but *pari*.

[11] Or "gives thanks."

I

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES ON THE GURU-BHAKTAKOṆḌĀ AND DURGAKOṆḌĀ HILLS AT RĀMATĪRTHAM.[1]

THE village of Rāmatīrtham is at a distance of about 8 miles to the north-east of Vizianagram in the District of Vizagapatam. To the north of the village rises a range of precipitous hills chiefly consisting of bare solid rock. One of them, known as the "Gurubhaktakoṇḍā," has, on its northern side, the extensive ruins of a Buddhist monastery on a wide ledge situated at a height of over 500 feet. (Pl. XL.) No local legends account for the name of the hill or for its connection with the Buddhist religion. But it is believed that Rāma, during his life in the forest, passed through the village and, feeling the want of water, created the tank on the hill not far from the temple now dedicated to him.

Here and there, traces are found of a path leading up this valley to the lower extremity of the projecting ledge. This was apparently the original road to the monastery.

As at Śaṅkaram, so also at the west end of this monastery, are the foundations of a large *stūpa,* 84 feet in diameter across the remaining outer walls, which seem to represent the procession path. At a breadth of 13 feet inside it, a circular brick wall appears at intervals. This must have been the circular outline of the *stūpa* dome which would thus be 42 feet in diameter. Both these walls are lined on the interior with a row of stone boulders. The inner wall is 3½ feet thick. Very little of the wall now remains, and there are gaps in the circuit showing that the *stūpa* had been mostly demolished and the bricks removed.

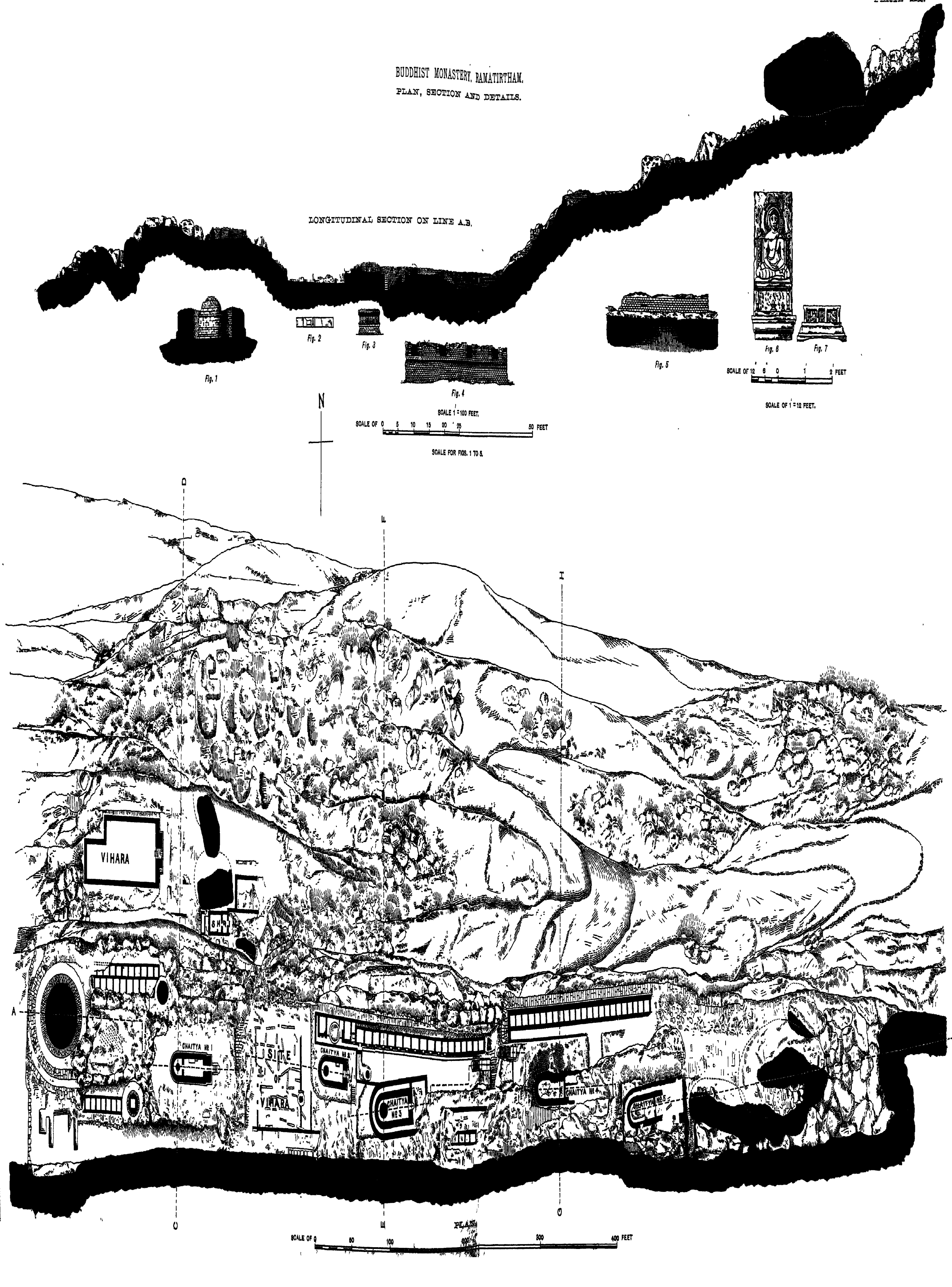
The *stūpa* stands on the outside of the ledge, which on the west side slopes down gradually, but on the north shows a sheer dip of rock for a height of about 190 feet. When entire, it must have been a conspicuous object visible for many miles to the west and the north. The ledge, here, is 146 feet broad from north to south, and on the latter side it is bounded by a vertical cliff of plain solid rock 120 feet in height.

Immediately adjoining the *stūpa* there is a tank, 65 feet broad, which occupies the whole space between it and the steep rock to the south. It has a masonry bund

[1] This article deals with the excavations carried out in the seasons 1909-10 and 1910-11. [Ed.]

BUDDHIST MONASTERY, RAMATIRTHAM.

PLAN, SECTION AND DETAILS.



on the west side, which is the termination of the upper end of the rocky plateau on the west. This tank, which is now silted up, has only partially been excavated. It was supplied with water from the drainage off the rocky wall which towers over it and which extends along the whole length of the plateau. A very considerable quantity of water is received in this way, and continues to trickle down long after the rain has ceased. Some perennial springs also exist on the hill-top.

Immediately adjoining the east of the *stūpa*, there rises a hillock composed of a mass of rocky boulders, large and small, measuring 240 feet from west to east and 20 feet high. It occupies the centre of the ledge at this point, but leaves a pathway on its south side between it and the vertical rock, and another space on the west end of its northern side. The eastern half of this hillock has been levelled so as to form an earthen platform carrying a brick *chaitya* hall No. 1 with its entrance turned to the east. (Plate XLI, *a* and *b*.)

It measures 40 feet in extreme inner length and 11 feet in inner breadth. The walls are 4½ feet in thickness. The present maximum height is 5 feet 8 inches. The remaining walls lean outwards, which shows that they had probably been forced out by the barrel-shaped brick-roof, as is the case with most of such buildings. Across the chord of the apse is a wall 2 feet 8 inches thick with a doorway of 3 feet 8 inches in the centre. The shrine or apse contains a stone *dāgoba*, 5 feet in diameter at the drum and 7 feet in height.

The stonesare beautifully pointed. The whole structure is in almost perfect preservation, and still retains a part of the stone dome and some traces of whitewash. A double-stepped base is at the bottom. It was built entirely of solid brickwork, but has evidently been excavated for the sake of the relic casket; for down to the line of the top of the drum where in ordinary circumstances the relic casket would be placed, the central bricks were all fragmentary, while further down to the foundation on the solid rock, they were all found in their original condition. The casket had evidently been thrown away after the contents had been secured; and this explains why the bricks were not disturbed lower down. What was evidently the body of the casket came to light from among the débris from the south-east slope of the hillock on which the *chaitya* stands. That this indeed is the casket appears from the circumstance that a semicircular stone which turned up in the upper part of the cylinder of the *dāgoba* among the loose broken bricks was found to fit the casket previously discovered and consequently must be the lid. (Plate XLIII, fig. 9.)

Such caskets are usually circular with domed lids, and resemble small *chaityas*. It will be readily understood that being the chief depository in which the object of worship is placed, they must be made of strong and substantial material.

Fragments of the stone umbrella of the *dāgoba* were also found on the east slope of the mound, the largest piece being more than a half of the circumference.

This umbrella shows radiating lines with a raised rim around the edge and a projecting boss in the centre perforated for the insertion of the umbrella post.

The floor of the *chaitya* is laid with concrete. Its front hall is 26 feet 4 inches long. On its northern inner wall is a projecting throne or basement 8 feet 6 inches in length along the wall with a projection of 3 feet 6 inches and 4 feet 9 inches in height. (Plate XLI, *c*.)

On its two corners are brick pilasters with moulded bases and capitals, and at the base of each fragments remain of three couchant lions in stucco. Facing the centre of the base of the projection, we notice the remains of two other lion figures. There has probably been an image or bas-relief on the face of the projection.

Numerous curved stones, such as are used in the domes of *dāgobas*, were found in the vicinity of this mound. There are also some moulded stone base slabs, and some stones incised with the outlines of a *stūpa* rail.

The entrance to the *chaitya* hall, which is 4 feet wide inside, is approached by means of a flight of stone steps with a semicircular slab at the foot. It recalls the "moon stone" of Singhalese architecture.

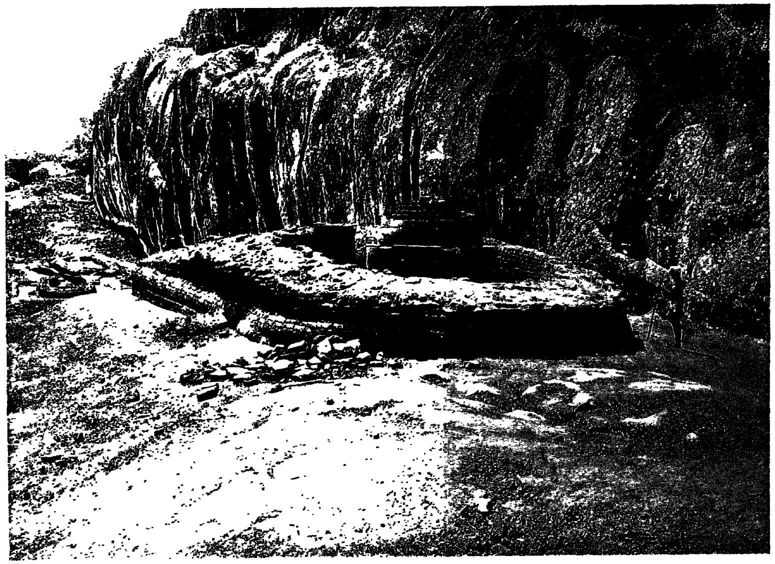
This flight of steps, which is 6 feet 6 inches broad, is provided with a low parapet on each side ending in a post at its lowest extremity. At the entrance, the east façade has been ornamented with brick-cut pilasters projecting from the wall face.

All along the side and back walls of the *chaitya*, exteriorly, there runs a broad bulging base of moulded brickwork which in places still retains the coarse pebbly *chunam*, an inch thick, with which the whole surface was originally covered.

In front of the *chaitya*, is a wide level space. Along the south side of the *chaitya* the top of the mound is level for a breadth of about 15 feet, and here and there are many traces of broken bricks. Here we notice the remains of what has been a *stūpa* about 12 feet in diameter. This space was doubtless originally a court enclosed by a cloistered wall, as is the case at the central *chaitya* on the east side of the Śankaram monastery. The east end of the mound previously described is strengthened by means of a masonry wall down to the level of the adjoining square. Remains of a stairway exist here. As noticed above, the western half of the *chaitya* mound is nothing but an accumulation of great rocky boulders without any traces of buildings once having existed on the summit. On the north and south sides, however, at the level of the great *stūpa* first described, we find the foundations of a row of cells terminated in each case by the foundation walls of a small *stūpa* at the eastern extremity. The cells on the south side number seven, and measure 8 feet by 6 feet 7 inches. The wall, against which they abut, is built on to the rock, its present height being 3 feet 6 inches. The *stūpa* at the east end of the southern row of cells measures 14 feet in outer diameter, and contains a chamber 7 feet 7 inches square in the centre The walls are, at present, not more than 3 feet 6 inches high.

The cells on the north side of the hillock are built in two rows of ten in the outer and eight in the inner row. Each cell is 7 feet 9 inches by 7 feet in size. Some of the floors yet retain the *chunam* with which they were laid. The walls are much ruined, and only a few corners of the brickwork now remain. The brick *stūpa*, already referred to, stands at the east end of the inner row. It is 16 feet 8 inches in diameter. On the east of the *stūpa*, a long winding stairway leads down the hillside for about 190 feet to a series of lower mounds containing remains of burnt clay and black earth.

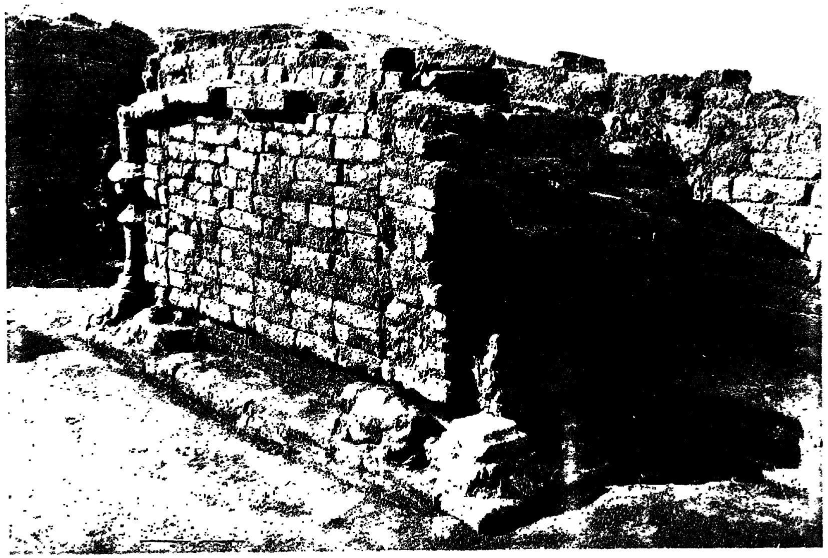
Immediately to the east of the first *chaitya* mound and at a level of 20 feet below it, is an extensive square space covered with fallen and broken stone piers. (Plate XLI, *d*.)



(*a*) CHAITYA HALL NO. 1; FROM NORTH-WEST.



(*b*) CHAITYA HALL NO. 1; FROM SOUTH-EAST.



(*c*) "THRONE" IN CHAITYA HALL NO. 1; FROM SOUTH-EAST.



(*d*) SUPPOSED SITE OF VIHARA; FROM NORTH-WEST.

PLATE XLI.

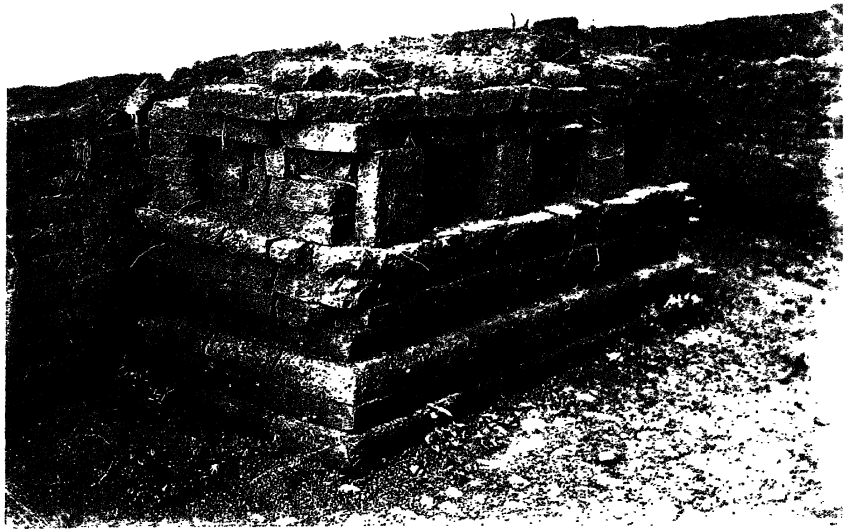
EXCAVATIONS AT RAMATIRTHAM.



(*a*) CHAITYA HALL NO. 2; FROM EAST.



(*b*) ROW OF CELLS NORTH OF CHAITYA HALLS NOS. 4 AND 5; FROM SOUTH-EAST.



(*c*) "THRONE" IN CHAITYA HALL NO. 2; FROM SOUTH-WEST.



(*d*) ROW OF CELLS NORTH OF CHAITYA HALLS NOS. 2 AND 3; FROM SOUTH-EAST.

This must have been the site of a *vihāra.* On the south side a vertical cliff of rock rises to a height of over 120 feet, and on the north is a retaining wall of masonry above steep rocky ground which abruptly dips down for about 170 feet to a valley in the hills below. The space of ground, thus enclosed, is 81 feet from north to south and 66 feet from east to west. On the east and west sides are the foundations of brick walls. There are six rows each of six piers, but all have fallen in various directions, and in falling almost all were broken in two or more pieces. As they all lie on the spot where they have originally fallen, their original position can still be ascertained. The bases of a few are still *in situ*, the broken shafts lying alongside. The size of the piers is 11 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 7 inches square in section. At a height of 3 feet 5 inches from the top the shafts are octagonal in section. There is a check cut on the top of each pier for a beam 10 inches wide and 3 inches deep.

Provision has been made for carrying off the rain water which drains from the cliff overlooking the *vihāra.* A back drain runs along the base of the cliff, and the water from it and from the higher ground to the east is conducted into a deep pit formed of boulders roughly formed like a well which occupies the south-east corner. The water at present runs off, but it may at one time have been closed up so as to retain the water which drained into it.

East of the *vihāra* site the ground is rough and rocky, and the platform gradually slopes up towards the eastern end. I am only to add that in clearing the *vihāra* site, two fragments of stone umbrellas and numerous carved stones from structural *dāgobas* were found in the débris and also the base of a small solid stone *dāgoba.*

Adjoining the *vihāra* to the east, there is a ruined *chaitya* raised on a brick platform, 4 feet 8 inches high and situated at a distance of 36 feet from the cliff. Its basement walls are rounded on the south-west side, so as to follow the curve of the apse of the *chaitya* which it supports. (Plate XLII, *a.*) The *chaitya* No. 2 which stands on this platform faces the east, and measures 26 feet 9 inches in length by 11 feet 4 inches in width. Its sidewalls are 2 feet 4 inches thick, and at the highest point 3 feet 6 inches high. The entrance is 4 feet 5 inches wide. The apse still contains the base of a stone *dāgoba* 9 feet in diameter. Only three courses of brick work now remain in position. We find no wall across the chord of the apse, as in the case of the first described, but from some marks on the side walls it may be inferred that there was one originally. The apse is paved with small stone slabs placed in a radiating position, whereas the remaining part of the building has a floor consisting of small pebbles covered with *chunam.* Built against the north wall of the ante-chamber, there is a pedestal similar to that found in the *chaitya* first described. It is 6 feet 2 inches long with a projection of 2 feet 3 inches and has a moulded brick base with traces of stucco.

Just outside the entrance to the *chaitya* hall was found a standing Buddha figure, of which the head and right arm are missing. (Plate XLIII, fig. 1.)

The position of the image must have been that of imparting protection (*abhaya-mudrā*) the right hand being raised in front of the shoulder with the open palm turned outward. The left arm, of which the hand is missing, raises the robe which, with its ample folds, covers the body but leaves the right shoulder bare.

In front of the entrance door is a square brick platform with a semicircular slabstone on the top.

The *chaitya*, as mentioned above, stands on a platform which leaves a passage of nearly 10 feet broad around its sides and apse. A staircase of eight stone steps, with a stone parapet, leads down from the south-east corner of the platform.

Almost due east from the entrance to the second *chaitya* just described, at a distance of about 20 feet, is the base of a brick *dāgoba*, 6 feet in diameter, which stands on a raised circular platform of brickwork at a short distance east from the second *chaitya*, and slightly in a south-easterly direction is a third *chaitya* No. 3, the orientation of which differs slightly from that of the two previously described. It is of somewhat larger size. In the apse is the lower part of a brick *dāgoba* 9 feet 9 inches in diameter. The flooring has been entirely removed. There is no wall across the apse chord. Some charcoal was found on the apse floor.

The front door is 4 feet 10 inches broad, and abuts on to a long rock which slopes up to the east of it. The building is surrounded by a passage, 3 feet 6 inches broad, enclosed by a wall about 3 feet thick which has fallen in many parts. The outside wall of the apse is 4 feet 6 inches high.

It has been stated that the rock outside the east of *chaitya* No. 3 slopes up. In this way, it reaches a height equal to about that of the mound of the first *chaitya*. Traces of a stairway leading up to it appear on the side beside the rocky cliff above it. There have been buildings all over this mound ; but they have been so destroyed, and the materials removed, that it is difficult to trace what they may have been. Apparently, however, they have been cells.

At the eastern end of the raised rocky ground which has just been noted, and at a higher level, is another *chaitya* No. 4 It is 33 feet 5 inches long by 11 feet 6 inches broad, with walls 4 feet 9 inches thick. The whole space below the floor was packed with large boulders. A small stone casket in the form of a *dāgoba* was found inside the front door. (Plate XLIII, fig. 12.)

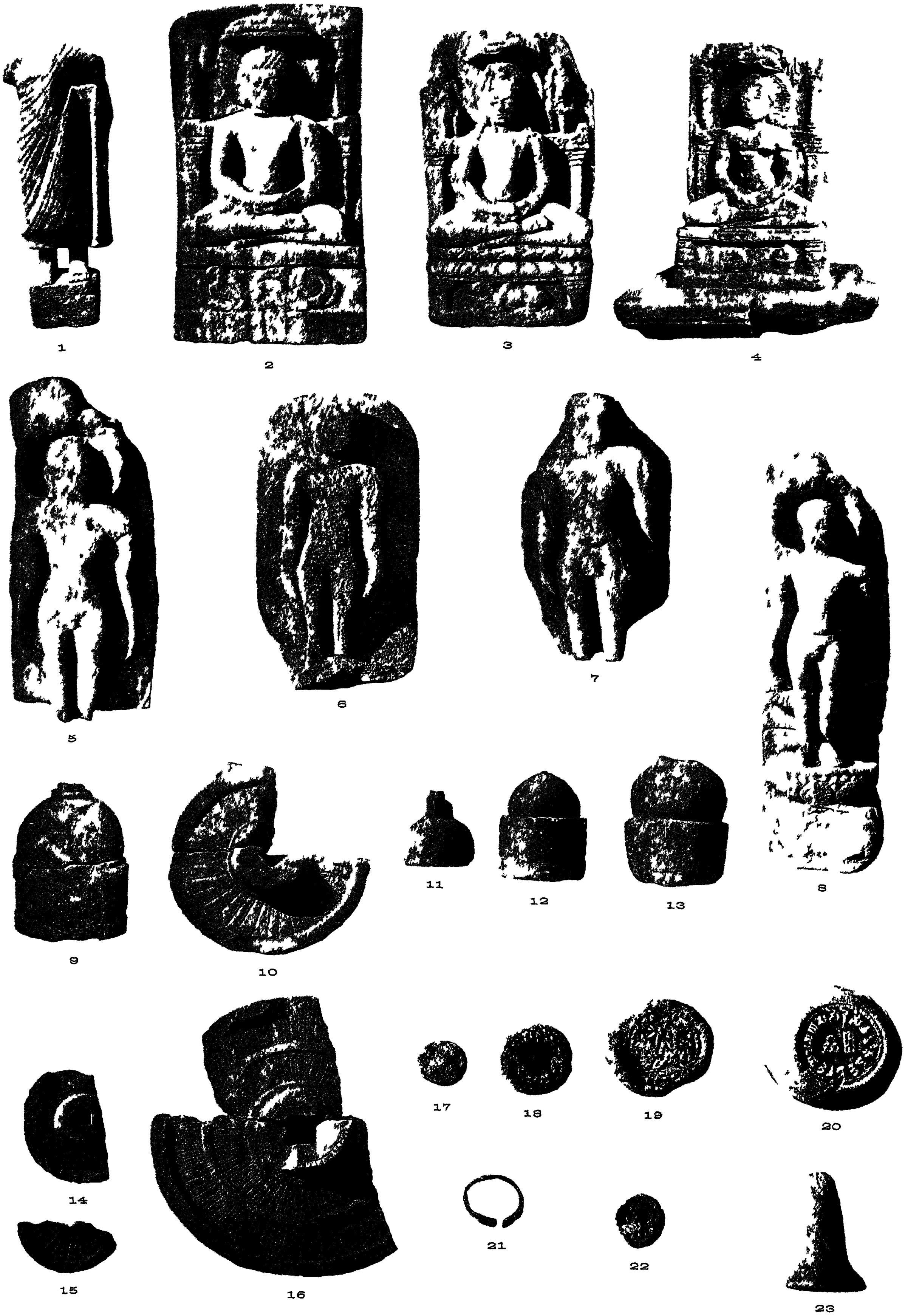
Part of the north-west circuit of the apse has bodily fallen inwards when the wall was at a considerable height, and it and the earth which supports it still remain in that position A great part of the north-east portion of the wall has also fallen over bodily, when it was nearly its full height, and it thus lay on the ground by the earth which has now been removed. It is probable that this building has been destroyed by a fall of masses of rock from the cliff over-head.

Leading up to the elevated rock on which it stands are two stone stairways—one is on the south-west and the other on the north-west of the apse. The former has only the rough underslabs remaining, but the other is in good condition, and is 24 feet 8 inches in length with a semi-circular step at the bottom and 20 steps in the ascent.

Still further to the east, occupying a position near the eastern extremity of the platform and at a height greater than that of any of the buildings or mounds west of it, is *chaitya* (No. 5). It is 30 feet long by 13 feet 6 inches broad, with walls 3 feet 6 inches thick. The interior of this building was entirely filled with boulders fallen from the cliff, and it had probably been so destroyed. A small stone relic casket lid was found inside (Plate XLIII, fig. 13.)

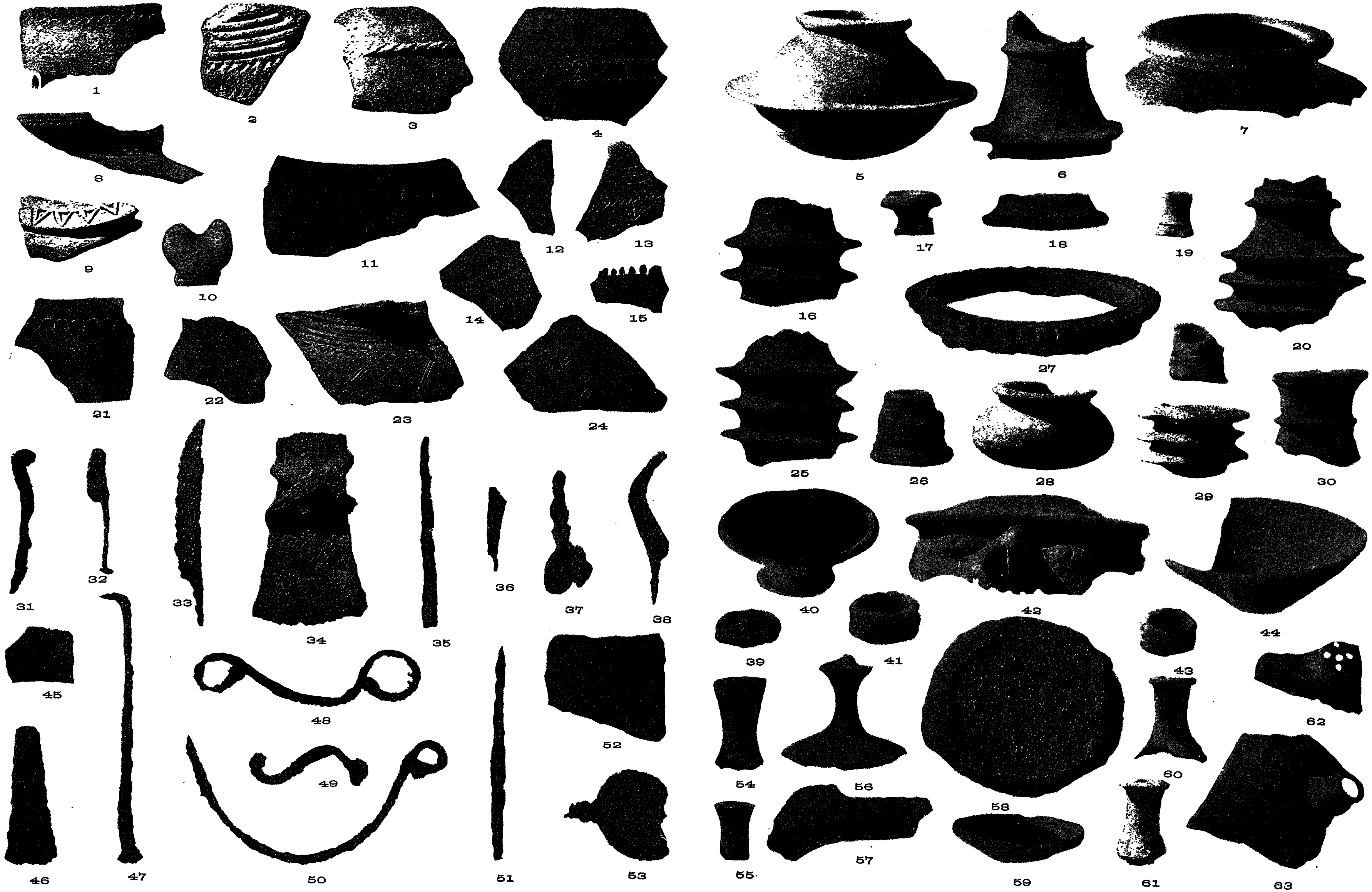
EXCAVATIONS AT RAMATIRTHAM

PLATE XLIII.



SCULPTURES AND OTHER FINDS

EXCAVATIONS AT RAMATIRTHAM.



MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

No trace remains of the *dāgoba* which stood on the apse. A semicircular slab lies at the entrance door.

A brick retaining wall, 31 feet long, is built against the earth and loose rocks of the hill on the east of it.

East of this again is a large boulder of overhanging rock which forms a natural cave. Inside it is a slab broken in two pieces with a seated Jain image. (Plate XLIII, fig. 2.)

Though broken into two, the figure is otherwise complete and represents a *Tīrthankara* seated in the posture of meditation. The pedestal below is carved with a decorative *makara* indicating that the figure represents the ninth *Tīrthankara* Suvidhinātha or Pushpadanta.[1] This stone had been used as a slab for grinding curry stuffs. This figure is of a date long posterior to that of the Buddhist remains. There are a number of other Jaina images situated on various parts of the hills around, and some of these are also represented in Plate XLIII, figs. 3 to 8.

These five *chaityas* that I have before described stand in a more or less irregular line east and west from each other, and on the even portion of the platform near to the overhanging rocky cliff. The ground of the platforms, outside the *chaityas*, is occupied by other buildings; and the outer or north face of the platform, is built with a masonry retaining wall of roughly hewn rocky boulders.

Some buildings which stand on long lines near the outer edge of the platform are principally cells for the monks, and in describing them, we may return along the north edge of the platform from the east end, where is the natural cave before noted. Thus, extending west from a line north of the fifth *chaitya* is a long row of twenty-four cells, with rooms 8 feet 3 inches by 6 feet with inner partition walls a foot thick. (Plate XLII, *b*.) This line of buildings extends west to a line in rear of the fourth *chaitya* and the stone stairway before described which leads down from their west end. The walls of the cells are only a few feet in height. A platform, 6 feet 11 inches broad, runs along the south side.

Descending this stair, we come on another row of cells running east and west and almost in a direct line with the east row. The line extends west to the rear of *chaitya* No. 2 and is terminated at the west end by a room which appears to be formed of two shrines with a brick *dāgoba* between them. These end at the stone pillared *vihāra*. The cells are each 9 feet 6 inches × 8 feet 6 inches, with partition walls a foot thick and outer walls 3 feet thick. The walls are yet of sufficient height to show the doorways on the south face of the row, and each of these has been flanked by a pilaster with moulded brick bases. (Plate XLII, *d*.) A long verandah, 3 feet 3 inches broad, extends along the south side. A stair other than that I have before described, leads up from the east end of the verandah.

LOWER MOUNDS.

The north face of the upper platform between the great west *stūpa* and the first *chaitya* dips down in a vertical cliff, over 100 feet in height, the lower part of which, for three-fourths of the height, is one solid unbroken mass of rock. The upper part is separated by a horizontal fracture in the rock, and is composed of some immense

(1) The *makara* is the cognizance of the ninth *Tīrthankara* according to the *Svētāmbarā* sect, whereas the Digambaras have the crab instead *Cf.* Buhler and Burgess, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*. London 1903, p. 68. [Ed.]

boulders lying side by side. At the base of the cliff, and lying parallel to it, is a great drain for carrying off rain water. It is formed of rock with brick walls where there is no rock.

At the base of this cliff is an extensive square plateau measuring 175 feet from east to west and 94 feet from north to south. At the west end it terminates in a heaped mass of large boulders, and at the east end it is blocked by two great rocks which occupy about the whole breadth of the platform and have a covered passage between them. Between the southernmost of these two rocks and the cliff on the south is a space of 14 feet which is occupied by some walls which will be shortly referred to.

Occupying the whole western portion of the plateau and separated from the cliff by a space of 22 feet, are the brick foundations of what has been a great hall or *vihāra*. It is 91 feet in inner length from east to west and 39 feet 6 inches broad from north to south. The walls are 3 feet 6 inches thick, and only a few feet in height There is now no trace of piers or flooring inside, and the interior was filled with blocks of rough stone The entrance door on the east is 7 feet broad, and has broken brick steps terminated outside by a semicircular plot.

In the south-east corner of the platform and close to the southernmost of the two boulders is a brick platform 10 feet square.

I have mentioned that in the space between the cliff and the two rocks which form the eastern boundary of the platform are the foundations of some walls. The main building seems to have been a shrine with its door to the east. It is 15 feet in inner length from east to west and 10 feet 4 inches in breadth from north to south The walls are 2 feet 6 inches thick, and only a few feet in height. Inside this building, a large jar 2 feet in diameter was found buried in the ground. It only contained earth, broken bricks and fragments of pottery.

Buried in the ground, on the south outer side of this building, was another large urn 2 feet 6 inches deep by 2 feet in diameter with a mouth 1 foot 9 inches in diameter. It stands among packed blocks of stone, and was itself filled with small pieces of stone. This jar was placed underneath a platform, 5 feet 6 inches broad, which surrounds three sides of the shrine. On the east of the shrine are the foundation walls of what has been a porch, and the rock on which they stand dips down to the east, and on it is a stone-built stairway from which runs the ascent to this shrine

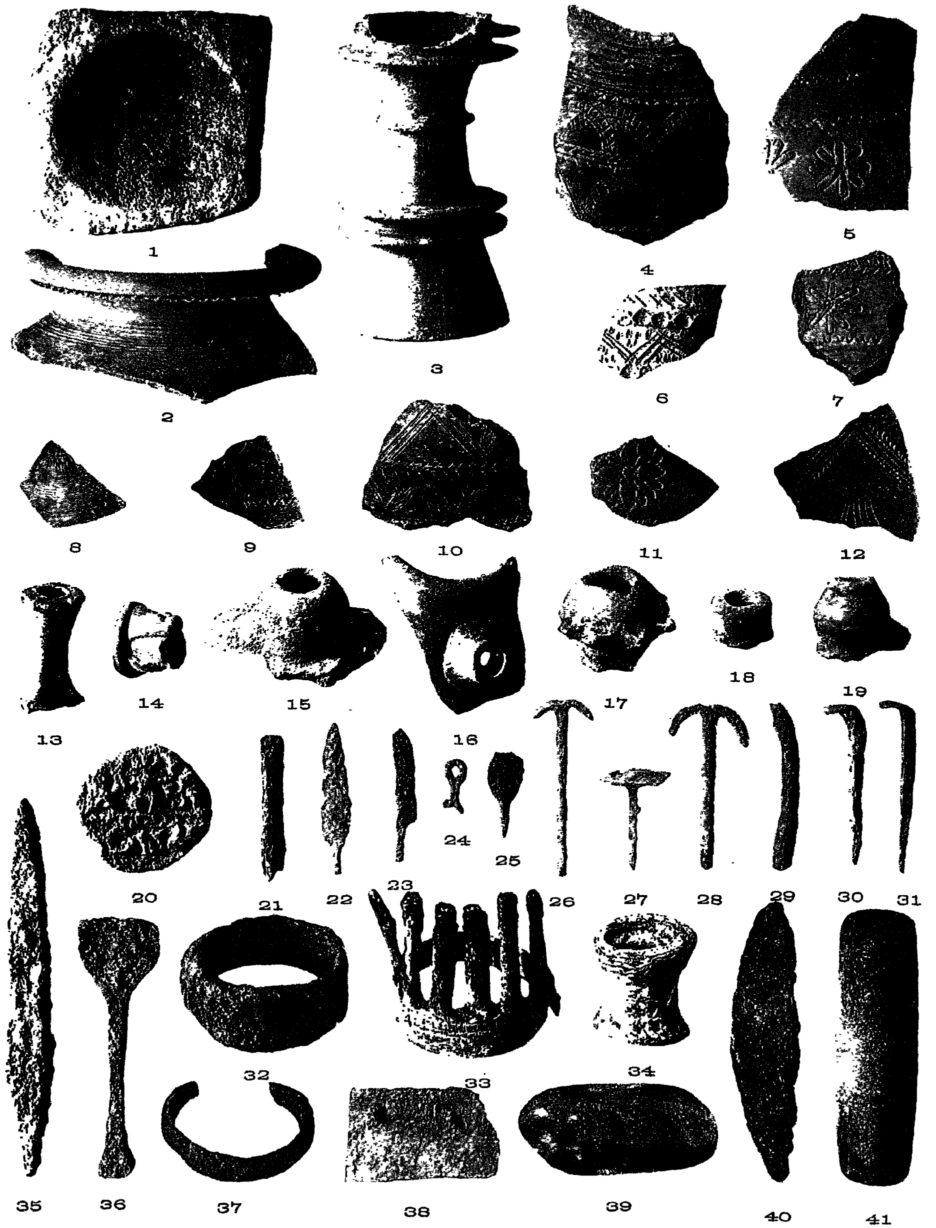
East of the two boulders of rock which have before been referred to, the level space extends eastwards for a length of 55 feet; here are the broken foundations of what have been brick buildings. The north face of this part of the platform has a masonry retaining wall standing on an almost vertical wall of rock 50 feet high.

At the east end of this level space or platform, a winding stone stair leads up the rocky hillside to the brick *dāgoba* which stands on the north of the first *chaitya* on the upper platform. From these, again, it goes up to that *chaitya* itself.

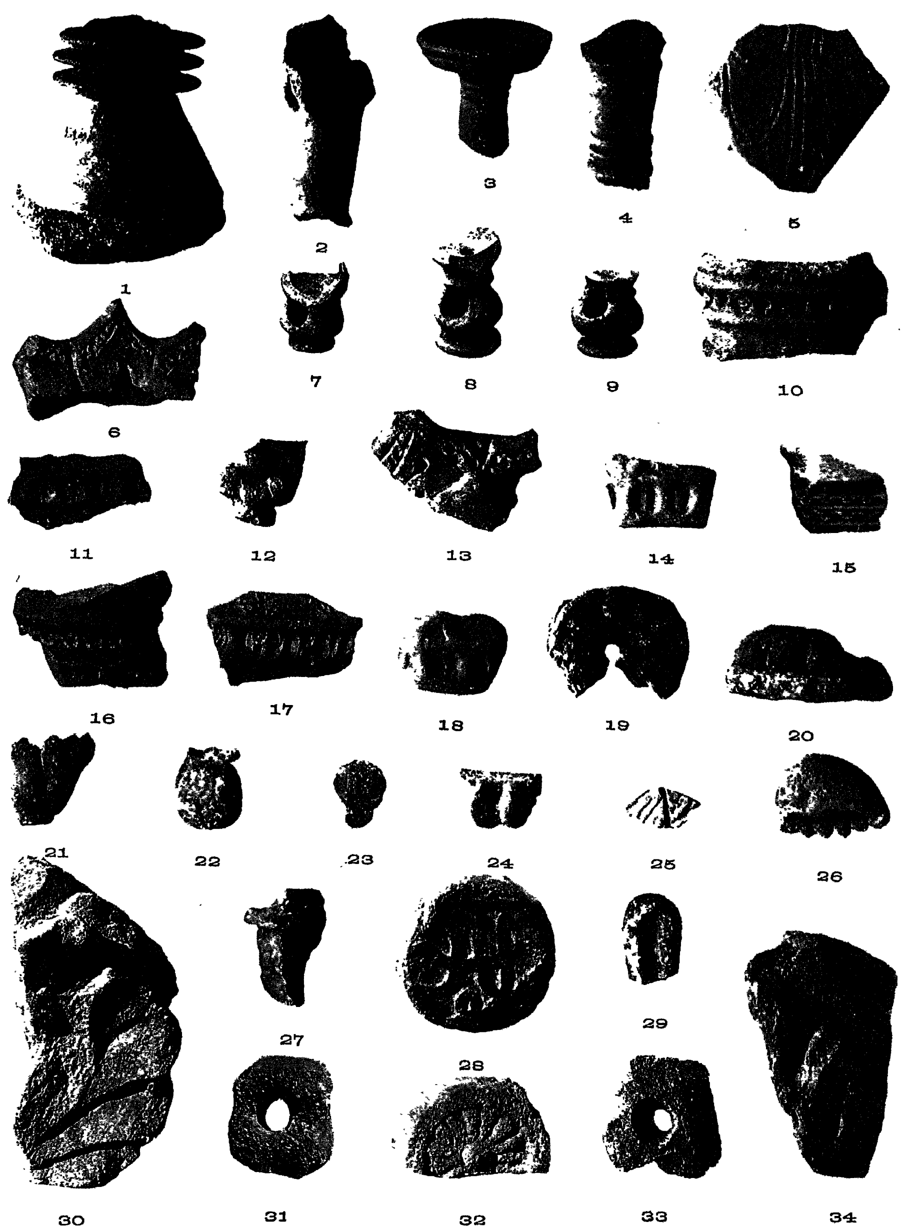
Below the level space or platform which has just been described, and at a level of 50 feet below it, the ground, for some distance in all directions, is fairly level though broken up by fallen rocks. There are no traces of masonry buildings here, but all the soil is black for a great depth, and is largely mixed with many kinds of broken pottery, among which were found some iron implements and complete pottery.

EXCAVATIONS AT RAMATIRTHAM.

A.



B.



MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

The iron implements are of various forms and include hatchets, knives, spears, etc.

The pottery is of various patterns, specimens of which are shown on Plates XLIV and XLV. One has a projecting rim at the middle, and is of a somewhat unusual form.

The ornament on some of the pieces of pottery is of peculiar design, and mostly represents flowers, leaves, etc. Among these was an inscribed clay token. The presence of these remains shows that this space of ground was, evidently, once occupied either by the houses of a village or by out-houses connected with the monastery. The hill-encircled valley, which the monastery overlooks, is still about 100 feet lower than this house-site. A wide winding pathway cleared of rocks, in the form of a road, leads up from the valley to the house site.

Situated under a rocky cliff, at some distance down the hillside from the monastery, is a great vertical cleft in the rock which has been artificially enlarged to form a water-reservoir or tank 208 feet in length by 10 feet in breadth and 9 feet in depth. It receives its supply from a continuous drip of water which trickles down from the rock overhead. It was filled with earth and fallen boulders of various sizes. These were cleared out, and among them was found a small stone *dāgoba* (1′10½″×1′ 3½″) with an empty relic receptacle in the centre, and the dome drum in two separate pieces. This had evidently been thrown down at some previous time from the upper monastery.

Some flat spaces of ground along the hillside were doubtless at one time occupied by buildings, but an examination of the ground showed that these had been almost completely removed.

The most important place at which results were expected, was the deposit of black earth which lies at a height of 320 feet up the hill and at a distance below the monastery of 190 feet. Above it are precipitous rocks interspersed with loose boulders, while adjacent to and below it the ground is covered with a confused mass of fallen boulders of all sizes and extending up to many tons in weight The rock of the hill undergoes a slow process of disintegration, and when this has proceeded far enough, great masses become detached and fall. Some of the *chaityas* on the upper platform bear evidence of having been destroyed in this way. The falling rocks doubtless at length rendered the village-site untenable for the black earth deposit, which itself is of great depth, is interspersed with boulders, which must therefore have fallen during the progress of its formation. The search among it for objects of interest was thus attended with difficulties.

Among the objects found were a lead coin and six clay seals (Plates XLIII to XLV) which were forwarded to Mr. Venkayya, Epigraphist to the Government of India, for examination. He remarks on them as follows :—

(Plate XLIV, fig. 20.) *Chaitya* of two tiers with some railing by its side. Legend :—

Siri S[i]va[maka?]-Vijayaraja—s[e]lasaghasa

"the Selasagha (*Sailasaṅgha* or mountain community),[1] of (*i e.*, patronised by?) Siri-Siva[maka]-Vijayaraja." Rano Sivamakasada is mentioned in one of the Amarāvatī inscriptions. The word *rano* which is usually pre-

[1] *i e*, the community of Buddhist monks belonging to the monastery on the hill.

fixed to the names of kings even on coins is missing on our seal. But the word *Vijayarāja* seems to denote that he was a king. Consequently, *Siri-Siva-maka-Vijayaraja* may be taken to be the name of an Andhra king.

2. (Plate XLIII, fig. 19.) Another of the seals is probably private, as it seems to end in the word *bhoja[ka]sa* "of the freeholder."

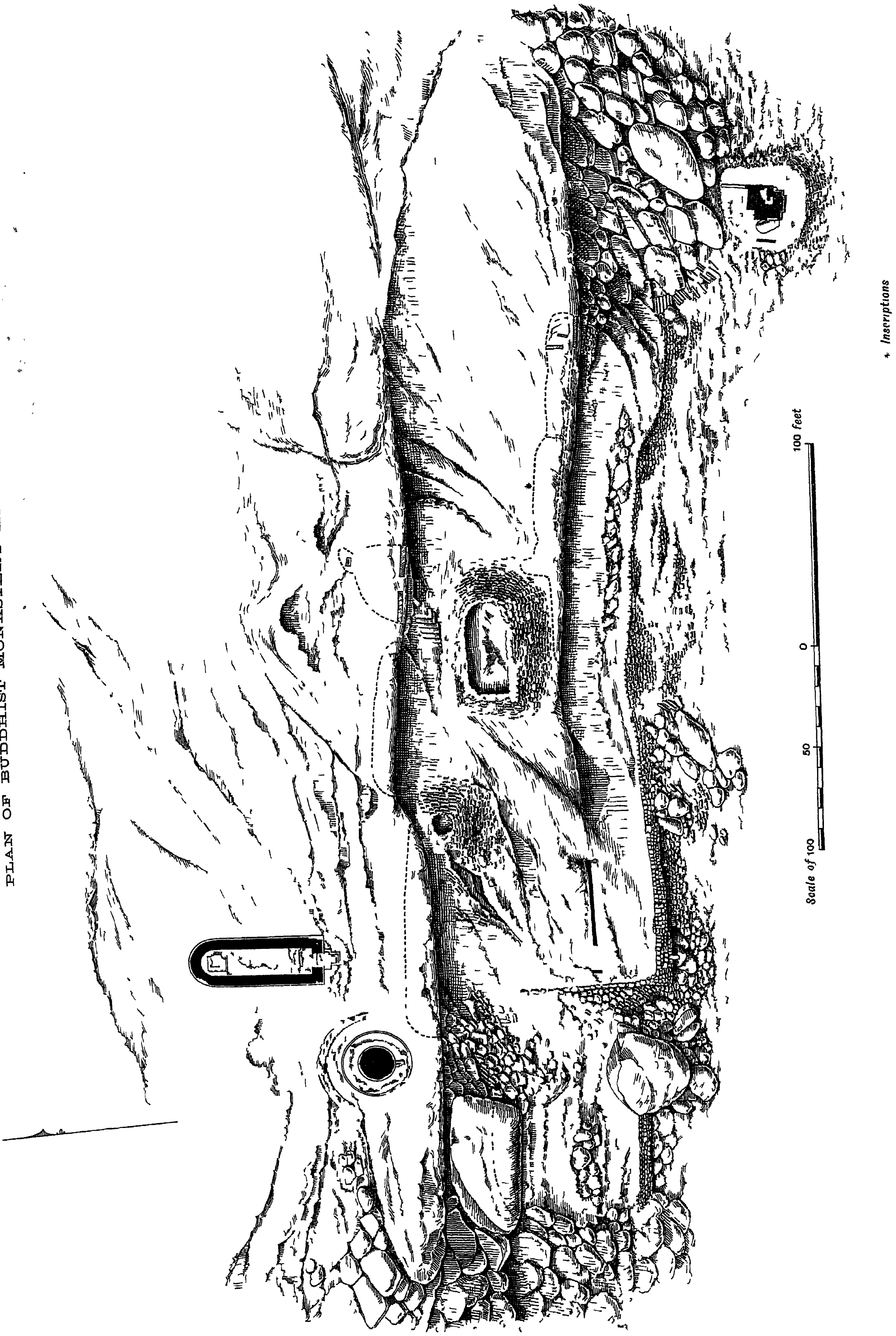
3. (Plate XIII, fig. 18.) The coin is much worn but bears on the obverse a quadruped—probably a horse. I cannot trace any other symbol either on the obverse or on the reverse.

4. (Plate XLIII, figs. 17, 22.) I am not able to make out the other two seals.

There are numerous specimens of fragmental pottery ornamented with a great variety of design. Some articles in bronze and many iron implements of various kinds were found, and among these were some hundreds of large iron nails which had evidently been used in the wooden beams of houses. Other miscellaneous articles including numerous bones were among the finds. These are illustrated in Plates XLIV and XLV.

Description of Plate XLV, A.

Figure 1. Brick 11″ square concave in the centre.
2. Portion of an ornamental thick rim of a large vessel, 1′ 3½″ × 5½″.
3. Earthen pilaster, 1′ ½″ × 6½″.
4. Portion of ornamental pottery, 11″ × 8″.
5. do do. do. 7½″ × 6″.
6. do. do. do. 5½″ × 3½″.
7. do. do. do. 6″ × 5″.
8. Portion of pottery with grooved lines, 5″ × 4½″.
9. do. do. do. 5″ × 4″.
10. do. do. do. 7″ × 6″
11. do. do. do. having floral patterns, 4½″ × 3½″.
12. do. do. do. do. 5″ × 5″.
13. Mouth of a jar 3½″ × 2″.
14. Dragon-faced spout, 2″ × 2¼″.
15. Spout 3¼″ × 3″.
16. Portion of a jar with spout, 4″ × 3½″.
17. *Kalaśa* with lotus buds, 2½″ × 1¾″.
18. Spout of ring shape, 1⅛″ × 1⅛″.
19. Spout of pot shape, 1½ × 1⅛″.
20. Impression of a seal (double actual size).
21. Iron rod, 4″ × ⅝″.
22. Iron dagger, 4¼″ × ⅞″.
23. Iron knife, 3½″ × ⅝″.
24. Iron hook, 1½″ × ½″.
25. Portion of iron dagger, 2½″ × 1″.
26. Iron hook, 5″ × 2″.
27. Iron nail attached to a small plate on the top of the nail, 3″ × 2″
28. Iron hook, 4½″ × 2½″.
29. Bent rod, 4½″ × ½″.
30. Nail, 4½″ × 1″.



PLAN OF BUDDHIST MONASTERY AT DURGAKONDA, RAMATIRTHAM

31. Nail, 4½″ × 1″.
32. Thick iron ring, 2½″ × 1″.
33. Crown-shaped bronze ring (⅔ actual size).
34. Lead *Kammal* (ear ornament) having hole in the centre, ⅞″ × ¾″.
35. Chisel, 6⅜″ × 1″.
36. Spear handle, 4½″ × 1⅝″.
37. Partly broken iron bangle, 2½″ × ½″.
38. Iron plate with 2 small nails attached, 4½″ × 2½″.
39. Hexagonal Crystal, 1½″ × ⅝″.
40. Bent dagger without handle, 5″ × 1¼″.
41. Grinding stone, 9½″ × 3″.

REMAINS ON THE DURGAKOṆḌĀ.

Situated west by north of the Gurubhaktakoṇḍā and connected with it by a saddle is a lofty rocky hill known as the Durgakoṇḍā. The name has originated from a large slab image of the goddess Durgā which stands in a natural cave there. This placing of a Hindu goddess by the later Hindus in close proximity to these Buddhist remains, doubtless after the latter had been deserted, probably originated in an idea similar to that which led to the placing of a malignant goddess on the path leading to the Buddhist monastery at Śaṅkaram.

The examination of the remains at the Durgakoṇḍā which has now been made shows that, like those on the Gurubhaktakoṇḍa, they were originally Buddhist, that they were subsequently occupied by the Jains, and that thereafter the Hindus had something to do with them as is shown by the presence of the Durgā image.

The remains stand at the south base of the hill and consist of four great natural caves which extend for a length of about 340 feet. An extensive platform 565 feet in length and faced by massive masonry walls has been built up in front of them. The caves themselves show signs of having been partitioned off into rooms or shrines and on the walls of one of them is a rock-cut inscription. There are several Jaina slab images, and pieces of others were unearthed during the excavations. The front platform has remains of the traces of buildings, and doubtless it had rows of monks' cells like those of the adjoining monastery.

On the summit of the rock over the western caves were brick mounds, which on excavation have proved to be the base of a *stūpa* 30 feet in diameter, and the other the lower part of a *chaitya* over 60 feet in length by 13 feet in breadth with walls of great thickness. Its door faces the south. (Plate XLVI.)

Among the articles unearthed were the pieces of sculpture before referred to, stucco ornaments and terra-cotta pinnacles which had fallen from the roof of the *chaitya*, broken ornamental pottery of various kinds, a copper coin, some iron implements, and other miscellaneous articles.

As these remains are situated about a quarter of a mile from those on the Gurubhaktakoṇḍā they probably formed a separate monastery.

Description of Plate XLV, B.

1. Pilaster, 9″ × 7″.
2. Handle of a basin, 5″ × 2″.

3. Top portion of a Gañja smoking pipe, $3'' \times 3''$.
4. Pottery leg, $4'' \times 2''$.
5. Ornamental piece of pottery, $2'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$.
6. Ornamental rim of a basin, $4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.
7. Lower portion of a Gañja smoking pipe, $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$
8. do. do. do. $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{7}{8}''$.
9. do. do. do. $1'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$.
10. Ornamental mouth of a pot, $5'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$.
11. do. rim of a basin, $3'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$.
12. do. piece of pottery, $1\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$.
13. do. rim of a basin, $4'' \times 2''$.
14. do. piece of pottery, $2'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$.
15. do. do. do. $2'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$.
16. do. mouth of a pot, $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.
17. do. rim of a basin, $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$.
18. do. piece of pottery, $2'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$.
19. Stucco ornament, $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.
20. do. do. $5'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.
21. do. do. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.
22. do. do. $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$.
23. do. do. $2'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$.
24. do. do. $2\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$.
25. do. do. $2\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$.
26. do. do. $4'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$.
27. do. do. $4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.
28. Copper coin (double actual size).
29. Stucco ornament, $3'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$.
30. Portion of a stone naga-hood of an image, $1'' \times 5''$.
31. Oblong stone having a hole in the centre, $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3''$.
32. Portion of a *chakram*, $4'' \times 3''$.
33. Portion of a door-jamb, $5'' \times 4''$.
34. Portion of a sculptured *chaurī* bearer, $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$.

A. Rea.

EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA, PROME DISTRICT.

THE excavations at Prome were resumed during the cold season of 1910-11. In January 1911, in the course of clearing the *débris* round the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, two small fragments of stone inscriptions, measuring 6″ by 3½″ and 4″ by 2½″ respectively, were discovered (Plate XLVII, figs. 1 and 2). Estampages were submitted to M. L. Finot of Paris, who furnished me with the following interesting note. He says: "The language is Pāli. The script has a very archaic aspect: it reminds one, in every particular, of the Kadamba script of the 5th century (*vide* Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, Plate VII, Column XIII). We cannot be far out in attributing the fragments to the 6th or 7th century A.D. The subject is evidently one of Buddhist doctrine. *Phassa-paccayā vedanā*, or 'Sensation is caused by contact,' is a well-known clause of the chain of the twelve *Nidānas*. * * * It is interesting to find the Pāli canon in use in Lower Burma at so ancient a period when the rest of the Peninsula of Further India was acquainted with the Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Sanskrit text." In lieu of transcribing the entire Tripiṭaka on stone or metal and enshrining it in a Pagoda, the Buddhists have a custom of having only three transcripts made, namely, of the opening lines of the *Sutta*, *Vinaya*, and *Abhidhamma*. The fragmentary inscriptions referred to are evidently extracts from the *Mahāvagga*, the first book of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*.[1]

As regards the age of the Kadamba script, Bühler says: "The Kadamba grants probably belong partly to the 5th and partly to the 6th centuries; for Kākusthavarman, who issued the oldest known record, was the contemporary of one of the Imperial Guptas, probably of Samudra-Gupta, and his descendants all ruled before the overthrow of the Kadamba Kingdom by Kīrtivarman I, between A.D. 566-67 and 596-97."[2]

On the spot where the two fragmentary Pāli inscriptions were found were also discovered four stone heads of the Buddha, two of which are aureoled, while the

[1] Oldenberg, *The Vinaya Piṭakaṃ*, *Mahāvagga*, Vol. I, p. 1.
[2] Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, p. 65.

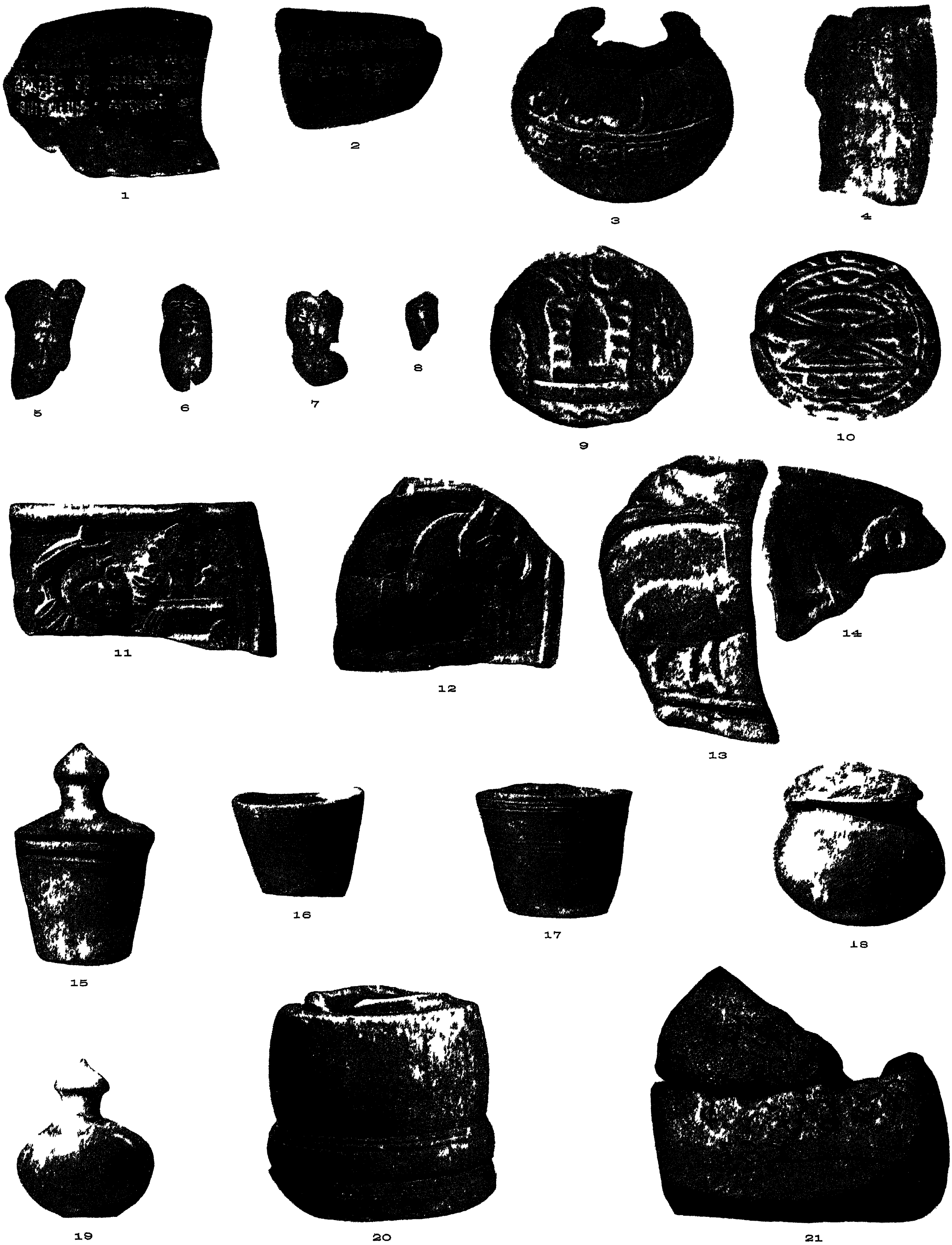
other are plain. Their height varies from 3 to 4 inches, and their breadth from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches. The aureoled heads appear to belong to the same age and are finely chiselled. The eyes are closed in contemplation; the cheeks and lips are full; and the chin is small. The nose is broad at the base.

At the north-western part of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, and about 6 feet below its dome, was discovered a small earthenware vase of almost classic pattern, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and 18 in circumference, and containing bone-ash, 5 silver coins, small pieces of jadeite, and inscribed gold and silver scrolls, which were crumpled and mixed up with mortar and gravel (Plate XLVII, figs. 3-8). The workmen were putting up a scaffolding round the Pagoda, and one of them made a hole into the body of the structure with a pointed bamboo, when the object was discovered The vase, which was apparently used as an urn, was found in a damaged condition, indicating that it was already broken when it was enshrined. The find-spot shows that the vase was placed in a small niche specially prepared for it. The scrolls are in such a bad condition, that only a few detached letters could be deciphered tentatively.

Close to the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, and amidst objects pertaining to the Śiva cult, was found a round clay tablet measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with the *liṅga* depicted on its obverse face (Plate XLVII, figs. 9-10). The *liṅga* rests on a rectangular pedestal, between which and two wavy lines a thick band intervenes. It is flanked on either side by a series of four circles and what looks like the head of a *nāga*. Close to the side of the supposed *nāga* is an object, which looks like a crab. Over the *liṅga* is a forked line, which separates the sun from the moon, the former being on its proper right, and the latter on its proper left. The reverse face, which may be described as depicting two sets of duplicated triangles placed apex to apex, with a streamer tied at the place of junction, appears to be a replica of that of coin No. 1 on Plate IV of Phayre's "*Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*," with the following differences: on Phayre's coin, the meeting-point of the triangles is indicated by a duplicated circle with a central dot, while on the clay seal, it is shown by three circular dots placed one above the other; on the former, there are five dots below the triangles, while on the latter, the triangles are surmounted by a line of nine dots, the central or fifth being larger than the rest, and rest on a double line of five dots each. It is remarkable that the silver coins should bear symbols strikingly similar to those of the clay seal, with the single difference in that the sun appears on the proper left of the *liṅga* instead of on the right, thereby indicating their difference of origin. Amongst the Aryan Hindus, the right is the side of honour, while the left is the side of honour amongst the Mongolian Chinese.

Sir Arthur Phayre proceeds, as follows, to explain the signification of the symbols on the coin reproduced on Plate IV of his work:

"Captain Latter regarded coin No 1 as Buddhist, and of modern date. He observes that the obverse has in the centre a *chaitya* formed of detached upright glyphs, and surmounted by a *hti* or umbrella. Right and left, are representations of the cobra capella, and, above, the sun and the moon. To the left are Buddhist and Hindu symbols, being a trident, three horizontal lines or scores, and the *swastika*; to the right is some unrecognized figure, and, below all, are four horizontal or slightly curved lines, one probably representing a serpent.



MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

"Of the reverse Captain Latter remarks: 'it may be intended to convey a symbolical representation of the cosmology of Buddhism, the twenty-eight circular figures in the outer ring representing the twenty-eight Buddhas, characteristic of a Mahāgabbha (Mahākalpa) or grand period of nature; the five drop-shaped figures representing a Buddha-gabbha (Buddha-kalpa) or lesser period of nature, the present period being characterized by the presence of five Buddhas; the emblem in the centre is 'composed of certain triangles, representing this world in particular. The triangles with their points downwards represent *water*, and those with their apices upwards typify *fire;*' and they meet in a central circle having a point within it, the whole denoting both the supposed elements of which the world is composed, and the reiterated destruction of the world by fire and by water. The above observations convey a probable explanation of the symbols. It might have been added that the volumes of cloud-like substance, which appear to be issuing from the centre, where the points of the triangles meet, symbolize 'air,' another of the 'elements,' which go to form a world, and by which it is destroyed once in sixty-four times. The triangular figures and floating substance, taken as a whole, also typify 'earth' as an element, and as the 'world,' the particles of which are rearranged, and form a body fit for land animals to dwell on after each periodical destruction. Below the triangles there is a wavy horizontal line which appears to represent a 'serpent.' This form introduced on coins below a *chaitya* is described by Mr. E. Thomas in his essay on coins of the Āndhra dynasty in the *Indian Antiquary*,[1]

* * * *

and the figure of a crab, which is shown on one of the coins of Southern India,[2] also supplies the symbol of destruction and renovation.[3]"

Mr. Venkayya, the Government Epigraphist, was asked to explain the signification of the symbolism displayed on the clay seal, and to indicate its probable age and place of origin; and his reply is as follows: "As regards the clay seal, I dare say you have already noticed its resemblance to coin No. 1 figured on Plate V of Phayre's *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*. No. 2 of the same Plate is also allied to your seal. In his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, page 332, Mr. V. A Smith describes some coins of Arakan. One of them belongs to a king called Śrī-Śiva (No. 9). Mr. Smith describes the symbol in his No. 10 as a 'trident with garlands hanging from it (Thomas); sun and moon above.' I think the symbols on your clay seal resemble those on the Arakan coins. And if Mr. Smith's reading of the legend in his No. 9 be correct, there was a king named Śrī-Śiva, who ruled over Arakan. Apart from the legend, the bull is figured on a number of coins from Arakan. Consequently, I am inclined to think that the traces of the Śiva cult, which you have found near Prome, have probably reached there through Arakan. I have seen representations of the *Śiva-linga* being worshipped by serpents, one on each side. The alphabet of the legends on the coins, which are allied to your seal by the symbols which they bear, appears to be North-Indian. It,

[1] Volume IX, 1880, p 61.

[2] Sir Walter Elliot, in "*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*," Vol. III, N. S., Pl. X, fig. 85C.

[3] Phayre, "*Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*," pp. 34-35.

·efore, looks as if Arakan got the Śiva cult from Northern India, and the country he vicinity of Prome borrowed it from Arakan. I do not know if the gradual asformation of a *Śiva-liṅga* into a Buddhist pagoda has any parallel in India. t it seems to me that the transformation of a Buddhist pagoda into a Hindu nple is more likely in India. In Burma the historical conditions were different l the transformation of a Śiva temple into a Buddhist pagoda may be easily plained. As regards the use to which such clay seals were put, it is not unlikely ıt the one which you have found belonged to the Śiva temple, and that the grims took one or more of them when leaving the temple."

Mr. Venkayya's opinion is corroborated by the evidence afforded by two coins os. 1 and 16) in the collection of Arakanese coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum. ı their obverse face is depicted a recumbent bull with the legend *Kālachandra* ove it, while on its reverse is displayed a symbol, which may be interpreted either a trident of Śiva or as a *liṅga* worshipped by two *nāgas*. The date of *Kāla-andra* may be fixed approximately. He appears as No. 12 under the name *Kala-andra* in the chronological table of the Kings of Arakan. Now his predecessor, *'handra-Surya* or *Tsan-da-thu-ri-ya-tsan-dra* ascended the throne in 146 A.D. d reigned for thirty-seven years, while *Kālachandra's* rule lasted for forty years. ıerefore, the latter king may be assumed to have flourished between 183 and 223 .D.[1]

Taking the above evidence into consideration, the clay seal appears to be a uddhist rather than a Śivaite symbol. It indicates the complete and harmonious ›sorption by Buddhism, in the early centuries of the Christian era, probably in the th century A.D., of two rival and coeval cults, namely, Śaivaism and Nāga orship.[2] On its obverse face the central object is, of course, the *liṅga*-shaped *ūpa* resting on a plinth, which is the prototype of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, near hich the seal was found. The *stūpa* is flanked on either side by four dots, which dicate that four Buddhas have appeared and passed away in this *Bhadra-kalpa* nd that they have been deified. In order to enhance the sanctity of the *stūpa*, ıd also to indicate its acceptance as an object of worship by the worshippers of ›rpents, two *nāgas*, which are themselves objects of worship, are represented as loring the sacred edifice. The crab on either side of the rim shows that a world-ycle is subject to periodical destruction and renovation. A canopy placed over an bject indicates its sacred character; and that over the *stūpa* denotes that it is an bject of worship. The sun and the moon represent the world, and their presence ignifies that, in this world, or "under the sun and the moon," the *stūpa* is an object eserving the highest reverence. The *stūpa* rests on a thick band denoting the *arth*, which, according to Buddhist cosmography, is supported by *water* and *air*, hich are indicated by two wavy lines. The Buddhist character of the seal is re-ealed, to a greater extent, by the symbols manifested on its reverse face. The wenty-eight dots on the rim represent, as explained above by Captain Latter, the wenty-eight Buddhas including Gautama. The triangular symbol in the middle of he seal is the *Vajrāsana* or Diamond Throne of Gautama Buddha. Above the

[1] *Vide* Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 44 and 293.

[2] *Vide* Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. 1, pp. 42*ff*.

Throne are nine dots showing that its occupant is the Possessor of Nine Attributes *Navaguṇa*), while the ten dots below it indicate that he is, at the same time, *Dasabala*,[1] the Possessor of the Ten Kinds of Strength. The centre of the Throne is occupied by three dots placed one above the other signifying the *Triratna* or the "Three Gems," of whom the Buddha is the most revered.[2]

Figures 11-14 of Plate XLVII are found on the same site as the clay seal. Figure 11, measuring $4'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$, shows a devotee worshipping the Foot-prints of the Buddha at the foot of the Diamond Throne. Figure 12, which measures $5'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, depicts the recumbent figure of a horse, and a trident. Figure 13, which measures $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$, and figure 14, which measures $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$, seem to belong together and to represent a female elephant with a calf.

Figures 15 to 19 show funeral urns, whose dimensions extend from 5 inches to 1 foot in height, and from 1 foot 8 inches to 2 feet 3 inches in circumference. They were found buried close to the foundation of a ruined brick wall forming part of a temple which was, perhaps, dedicated to Śiva.

Figure 20 is a stone vessel found at an excavated site called Tawadeintha. Its height is 2 feet and its diameter 6 inches.

On the same site was discovered a clay tablet measuring $5'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, on which a Buddha figure is shown seated in the *dharmacakramudrā ;* on the reverse is an inscription (fig. 21) believed to be in Pyu, a language which has been extinct for several centuries. Mr. C. O. Blagden has, however, succeeded in deciphering the fourth or Pyu face of the Myazedi Inscription of Pagan, which is dated 1084 A.D.[3] The finds described above appear to justify the following conclusions :—

(i) That in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era, Pāli was used as one of the vehicles of Buddhism in the neighbourhood of Prome.

(ii) That the pre-existing Śiva cult was absorbed by Buddhism in the same locality, about the same period, if not earlier.

(iii) That the time-limit of authentic Burmese history may now be pushed back for, at least, a century. *i e.*, to the 6th century A. D.

TAW SEIN KO.

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[1] *Vide* Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, pp. 262 and 112.

[2] The Editor does not wish to assume any responsibility for the above interpretation of the symbolism of the clay tablet here discussed. "Se non è vero, è ben trovato."

[3] *Vide* April number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, pp. 365-388.

CONSERVATION WORKS AT AGRA AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

a.—The Tomb of Maryam at Sikandarah.

MARYAMU-Z-ZAMĀNĪ, whose mausoleum forms the subject of this note, was the daughter of Rājā Bahārā Mall Kachhwāhā[1] of Ambēr. In an interview between Akbar and the Rājā at Sankanir in 1562 A.D.[2] the latter "expressed the wish to enter the royal service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by giving his daughter in marriage to Akbar, both of which desires were granted without delay."[3] There is no doubt that the Emperor's matrimonial alliances with Hindu princesses contributed largely to the consolidation of his Empire; and the abandonment of his policy, if it can be termed as such, though always regarded with the utmost resentment by orthodox Muhammadans,[4] goes far to explain the decline of the Mughal power which set in during the reign of Aurangzēb, who was as bigoted in matters of religion as his ancestors had been tolerant.

The story that Maryamu-z-zamānī was a Portuguese Christian has its supporters, but Abul-fazl, the Emperor's court chronicler, who was nothing if not broad-minded and accurate, makes no mention of her as being a Christian, or of Akbar ever having had a Christian wife. The late Mr. Edmund Smith, in his work on Fathpur-Sikrī, expresses the opinion that the story was started by some visitor, who expressed the idea that a painting in Maryam's house at Fathpur-Sikrī represented the Annunciation,[5] and that therefore Maryam must have been a Christian. But in

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1 Kachhwāhā, *i.e*, belonging to the Kachhwa or tortoise. The term applied to the ruling house of Ambēr.

2 Noer gives 1562 A.D. as the date. The Āthār-i-Akbarī, Agra, 1906, p. 105, makes it 1561 A.D. (A.H. 969).

3 Count of Noer. *The Emperor Akbar* (translated by A. S. Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 148.

4 "Royal consorts maintained their own customs and unhindered observed their special religious rites. Akbar used to join in the Hindu worship of his Rājpūtnī wives and with them celebrated the 'hom,' a fire worship of ancient date. He wore the ṭīkā, the mark of Hinduism, on his forehead, at first within the harem, but later openly. Badāonī and strict Mussalmans had certainly ground for exasperation in this. (Elliot V. 531. Blochmann 184, 193, 495.) The fire temple in which Abul Fazl was a guardian of the sacred flame, was within the harem precincts. Whether Akbar was drawn to Hinduism by wifely influence or by deeper inclination or by policy may be left an open question. It is certain that his close relations by marriage with princely Rājpūt families and that of Amber in particular was of the greatest political advantage to him." Noer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 249.

5 Edmund Smith, *Mughal Architecture of Fathpur Sikri*, Vol. I, p. 31.

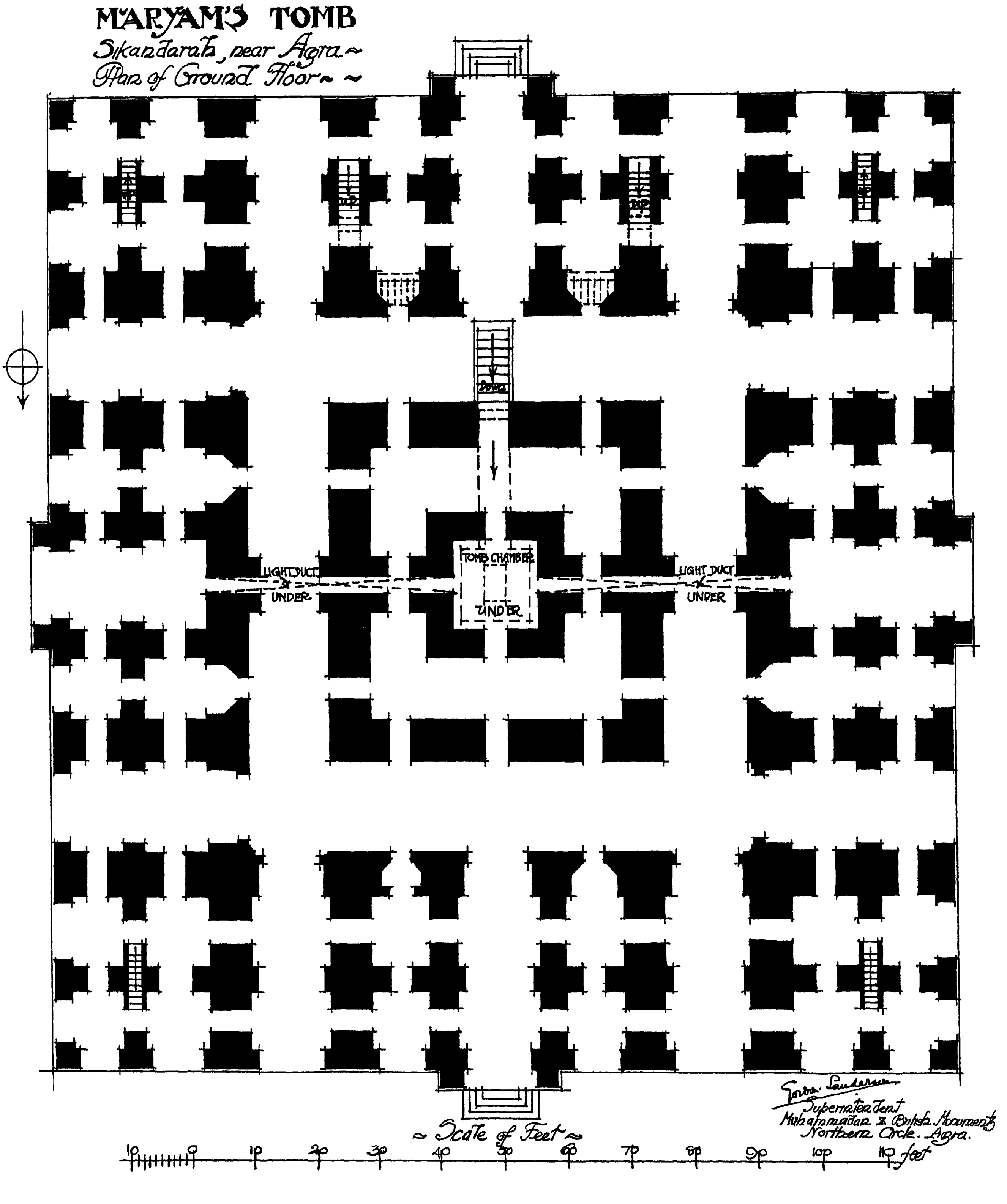
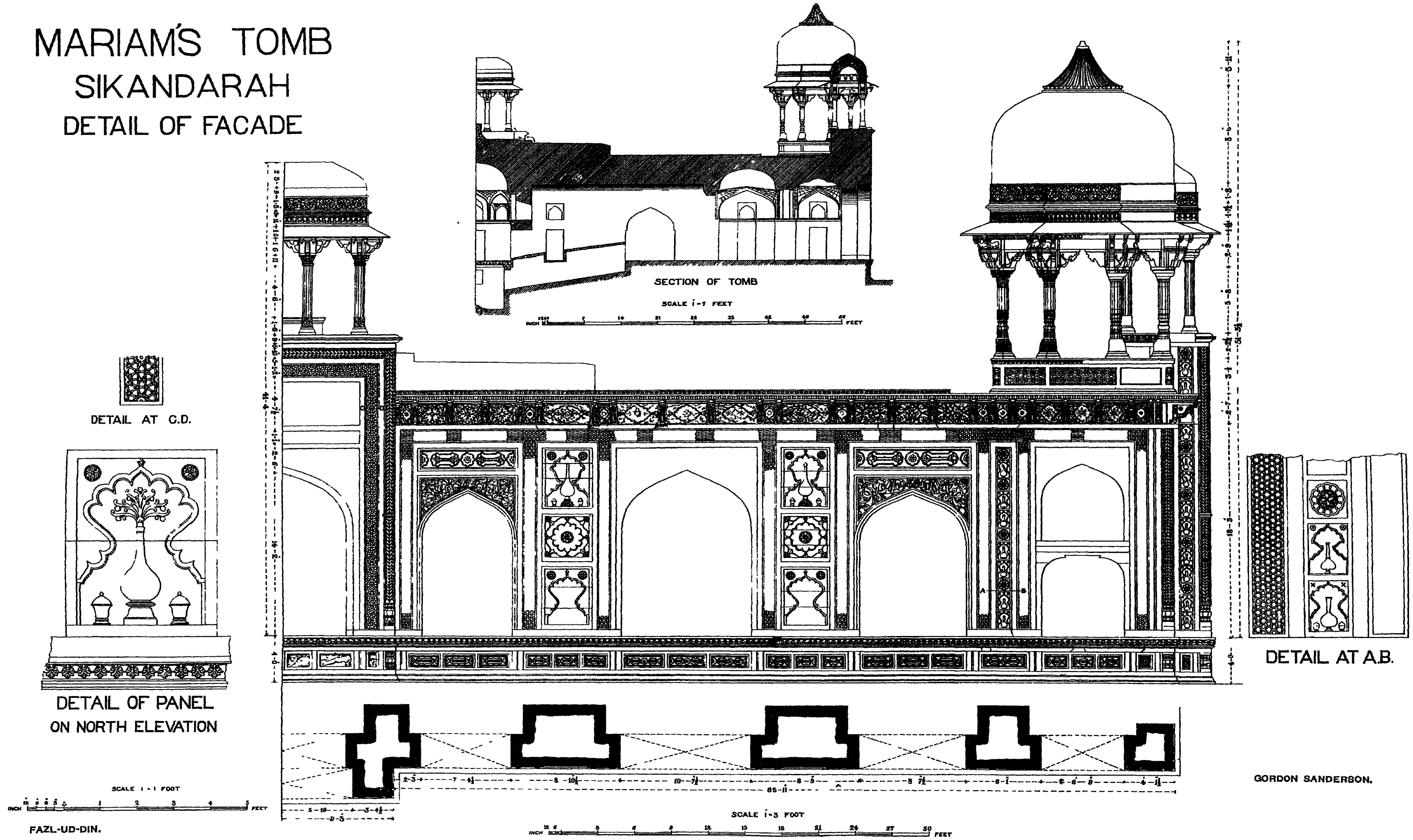

MARYAM'S TOMB
Sikandarah, near Agra
Plan of Ground Floor
UP
DOWN
TOMB CHAMBER
UNDER
LIGHT DUCT
UNDER
LIGHT DUCT
UNDER
Superintendent
Muhammadan & British Monuments
Northern Circle. Agra.
Scale of Feet
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 feet

PLATE XLIX.

MARIAM'S TOMB
SIKANDARAH
DETAIL OF FACADE



FAZL-UD-DIN.

GORDON SANDERSON.

answer to this, it might be said that the idea of decorating the royal apartments with pictures representing Christian religious subjects was not unusual. A picture in the Hanna collection represents Jahāngīr seated in front of a building, on the walls of which can be seen a Madonna and an "Ecce Homo."[1] It would not necessarily follow that the particular occupant of the apartments so decorated was a Christian, and the picture in the Sōnahrā Makān may quite easily have been the Annunciation. The name Maryam (Mary) has also helped to lend weight to the theory of the "Christian wife," but Maryam is a common name among Muhammadans and Maryamu-z-zamānī, "the Mary of the age," was the title conferred on the princess at the birth of Jahāngīr.[2] Her death took place at Agra in A.D. 1623, the eighteenth year of Jahāngīr's accession.[3] It is regrettable that there is no inscription on the building.

The mausoleum is a square in plan, each side measuring 145 feet, divided up internally into a series of small compartments to which it is hard to assign a function (Plate XLVIII). Mr. Carlleyle, in the Archæological Survey Report for 1871-1872, says: "Of the residence of the Lodi family at Agra the Bâdal-garh no longer exists, but there are two vestiges remaining, namely, the *Bâradari* (Palace) near Sikandara and the *Lodi Khanka-Tila*. The *Bâradari* was built, as a palace, by Sikandar Lodi, in A.D. 1495. It is a square building of red sandstone 142 feet 6 inches each side and comprises two storeys and a vault below; the ground floor contains about 40 chambers or compartments. Each corner of the building is surmounted by a short ornamental octagonal tower. This building is commonly known as the mausoleum of the Begam Mariam, because Akbar interred his Portuguese Christian wife here. Her tomb is in the vault below and there is also a white marble cenotaph in the centre of the upper storey. The *Bâradari* is now occupied by a portion of the establishment of the Orphan Asylum of Agra. It was from Sikandar Lodi that the suburb near Agra, called Sikandra, received its name .... "[4]

One cannot help questioning *two* statements in this note on the building. Firstly, the style of architecture is certainly not that of the year 1495 A.D., but undoubtedly belongs to what might be called the early Mughal period, which includes Jahāngīr's reign, and it seems more than probable that the building was built expressly for the mausoleum of his mother. Again, it is true that there are two rooms one above the other reached by stairs, at the extreme corners of the building, but this scarcely warrants the building being called a "two storey" one. It would be interesting to know what led to the development of this type of plan for mausoleums. Was it something in connection with ritual, the factor that evolved the mediæval church plan of Europe, or was it the circumstance that buildings of this kind were used as Bāradarīs or spots wherein fêtes and receptions could be held prior to death of the deceased? Perhaps the numerous compartments were used as a series of "cells" in

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[1] *Cf.* also *First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*, Francis Goldie, S.J., p. 69, note 1. In it Mr. Goldie offers the suggestion that the Sonahrā Makān might have been the house assigned to Rudolf Acquaviva, one of the Jesuit Fathers who visited the Emperor Akbar at Fathpur Sikri, and that the room which the picture decorates might have been his chapel. The Fathers were instructed to take up their abode within the palace of the Emperor. He adds that Guzman says Akbar ordered paintings to be made of our Lord and His Blessed Mother, as well as of other saints

[2] *'Āīn-i-Akbarī.* transl. Blochmann. P. 309. The mother of Akbar was named Maryam-Makānī.

[3] *Iqbālnāmah-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rib.. Ind.), p. 205. (also *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 361.)

[4] *A.S.R.* Vol. IV, p. 99, also plate XI for plan.

which devout persons could revere the memory of the deceased in comparative privacy. Running round the central "block," within which again was a compartment some 13 feet square, immediately over the vault, is a corridor 13 feet 2 inches in width, which may have served as an "ambulatory" in which the faithful might walk repeating the qurān or lamenting the deceased. Worthy of note are the curious light ducts (see section of building, Plate XLIX), for the lighting of the tomb chamber. The corridors and compartments are roofed by simple domes of exceptional thickness. In 1839 the building was made over to the Orphan Society by the Government of the North West Provinces and there is no doubt that, although the occupation was responsible for the many additions which have had to be removed, it nevertheless saved the building from further decay.

The floor, throughout of red sandstone, has been extensively repaired. Modern additions, stairs, and a structure which covered the whole west side of the building have been removed (Plate L, *a*, *b*), and some twenty-two skylights and openings in the roof have been taken away and filled up. A simple dado of coloured plaster, the sole internal decoration of the building, has been carefully preserved. The building was in a structurally sound condition, but much of the external carved work had disappeared. For it had been substituted masonry in small country bricks laid without mortar. These have weathered to pleasing tints, with the result that, although modern work, they do not rob the building of its expression as conjectural imitative work might have done. The sandstone used on the building is of two varieties, red and buff, and is seen in juxtaposition on the external piers, the red panels, bearing patterns representing wine-jugs (surāhī) or lotus flowers, being framed by buff sandstone borders of arabesque design (Plate XLIX). Octagonal kiosks mark the four corners of the building, rectangular ones crowning the projecting bays which emphasise the centres of each façade. Their carved ornament is essentially early Mughal in style while their simple plastered domes rise from octagonal drums, the outer surface of which is fitted with a *mudakhal* pattern inlaid with white marble The enclosure to the building has been acquired from the Orphanage authorities, and a simple boundary wall erected provided with new entrance gates. It is hoped, at no distant date, to possibly grass the enclosure and so to complete the setting of the tomb. An approach road leading from the Agra-Muttra Road to the tomb has also been constructed.

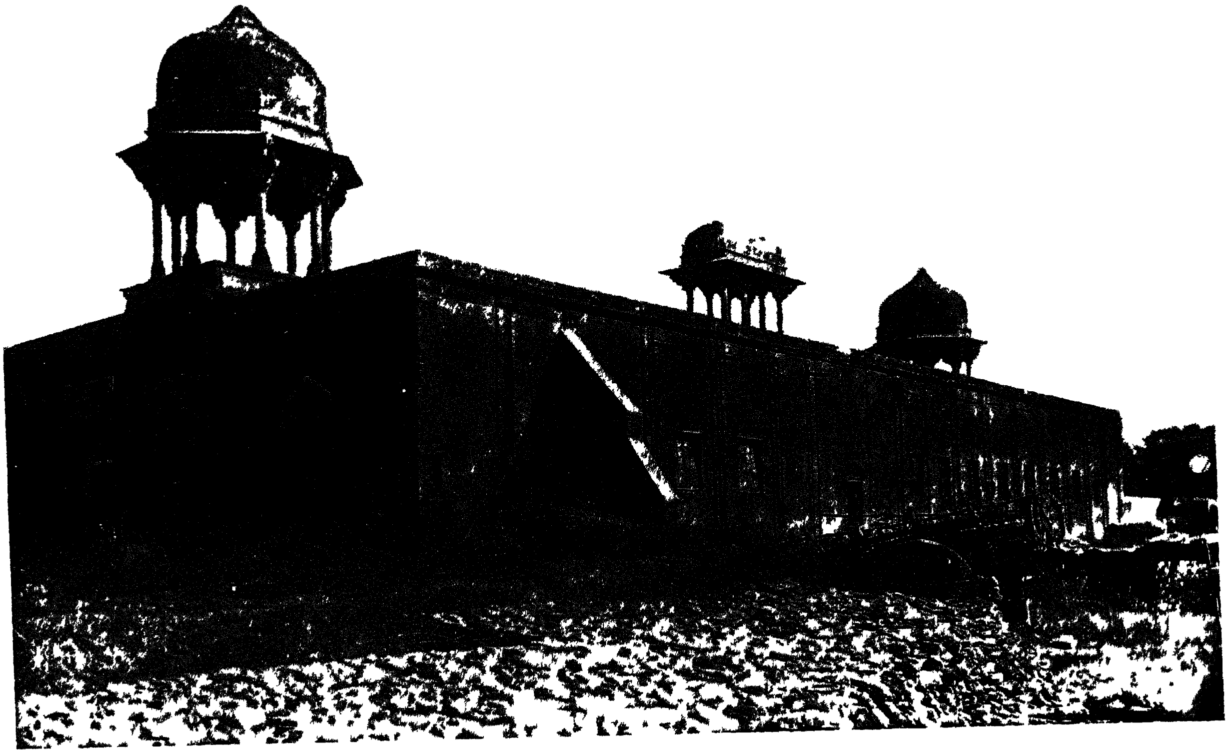
The conservation work, which, in addition to the items already mentioned, consisted in the removal of much whitewash, replastering, the renewal of roof slabs and a thorough cleaning of the building, has cost Rs. 10,812

b.—Jaswant Singh Ki Chattri, Agra.[1]

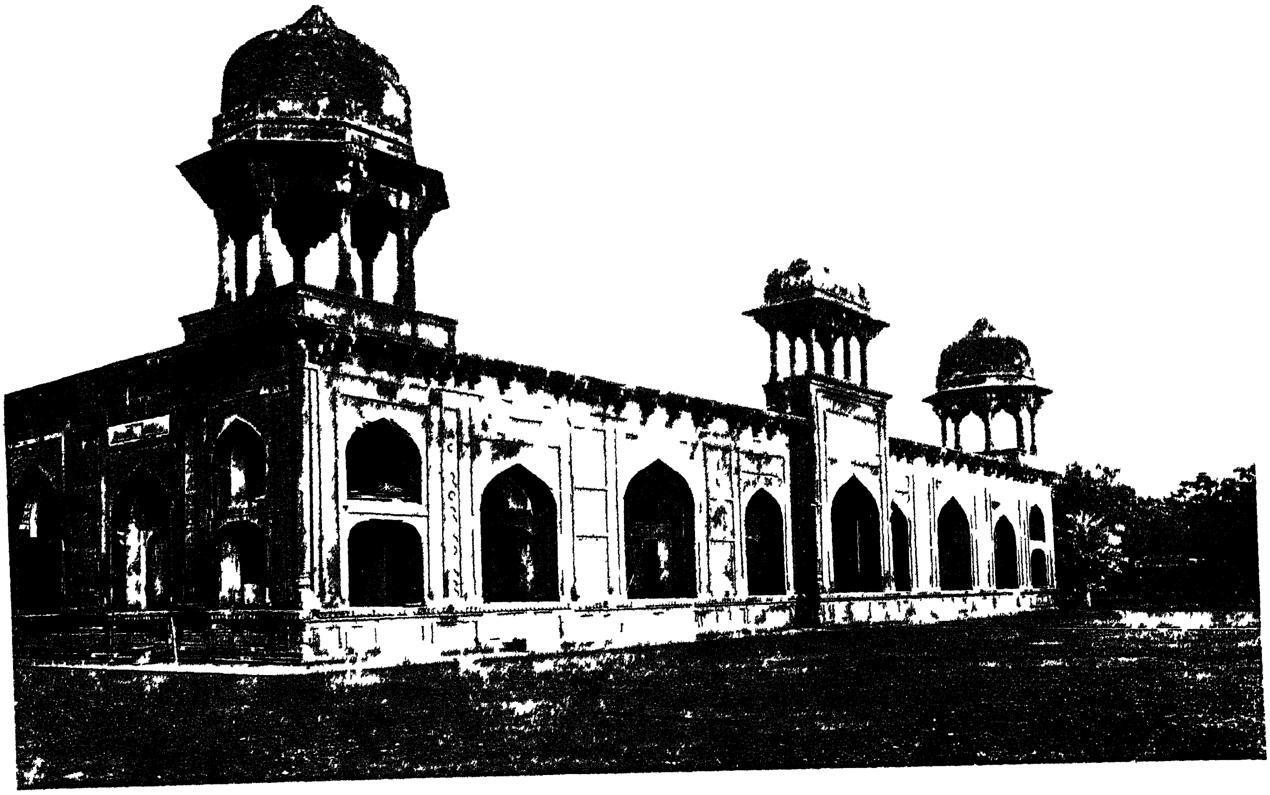
Of the houses, gardens and pavilions, which formerly lined both sides of the river Jāmna at Agra, very few now remain. On the east side, I'tmād-uddaula's tomb, the Rām Bāgh, both well preserved, and the *chattris* of the Zohria Bagh and Būland Bāgh, together with the Battīs Khamba,[2] still serve to show the fondness

[1] Reference:—*S. D M. Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India*, 1653-1708, by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian Translated with introduction and notes by W. Irvine London, John Murray, 1907 *Bernier Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D 1656-1668*, by Francois Bernier, by Archibald Constable, Westminster, A. Constable & Co. 1891.
[2] Sometimes known also as the Sola Khamba.

TOMB OF MARYAM, SIKANDARAH

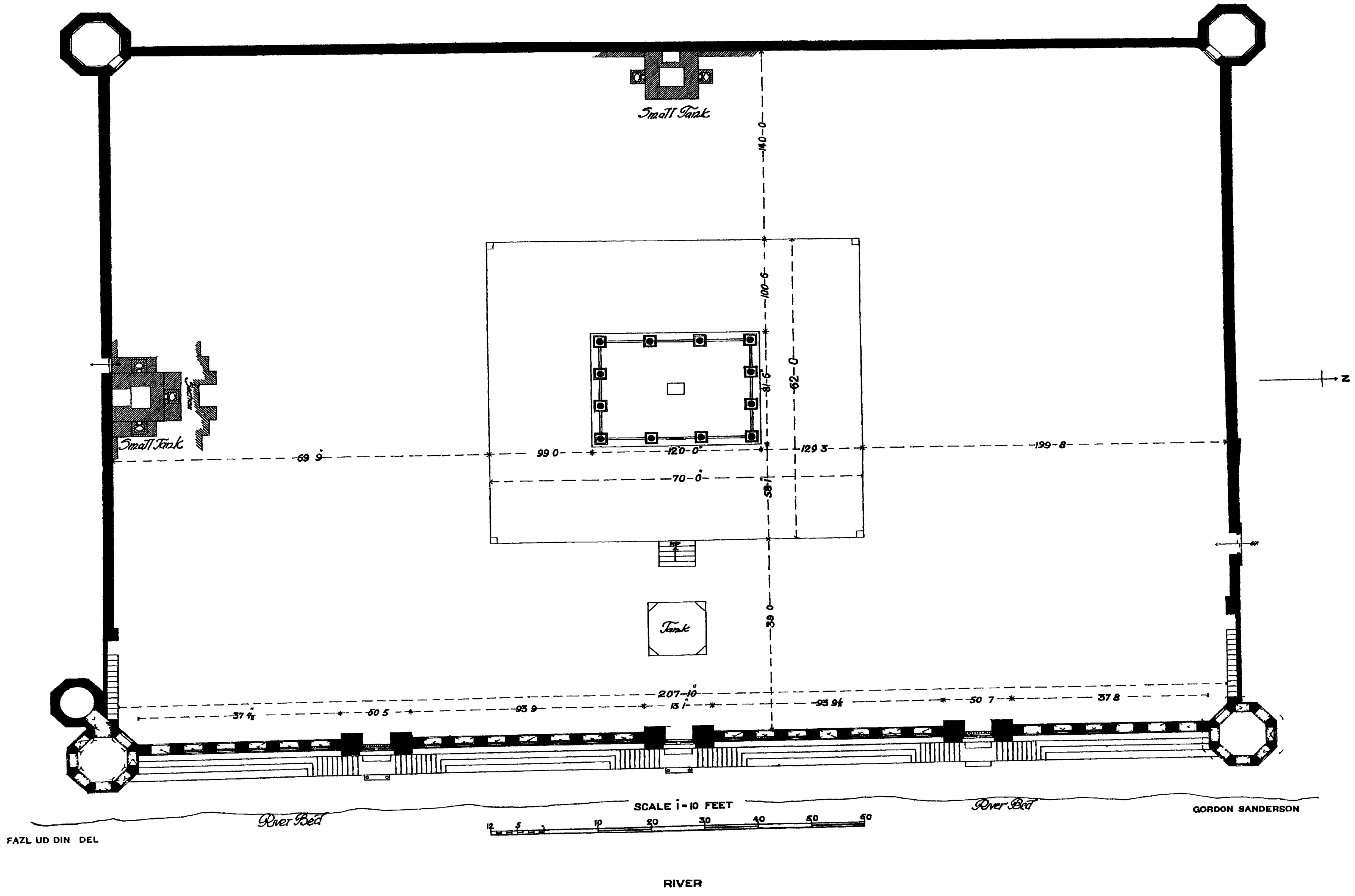


(a) VIEW OF TOMB FROM EAST, BEFORE REPAIRS



(b) VIEW OF TOMB FROM EAST, AFTER REPAIRS

CHATTRI OF RAJA JASWANT SINGH, AGRA.
PLAN OF ENCLOSURE.



the nobles of the Mughal Court had for spending their days beside the river, where, even in the sweltering summer heat, that is said to have been partly responsible for the removal of the Mughal capital to Delhi, there is generally a cool breeze to be found.

But on the west side, instead of the *chattris*, the gardens and pleasure houses, their red sandstone turrets tinged gold by the setting sun, rise up gaunt chimney stacks, the necessary adjuncts of modern commerce and industry. The *chattri* of the great Rāṭhor Rājpūt, Rāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur or Mārwār, son of Rāja Gāj Singh and a descendant of Rāo Māldeo, has fortunately escaped destruction as being more distant from the city.

It stands in a garden enclosed by a wall of brick masonry, faced with red sandstone, the top of which was originally crowned by a parapet, most of which has disappeared.

The garden, 210 feet north and south by 140 feet east and west, had two entrances in its north and south walls (Plate LI). These latter were probably subsidiary, the main entrances being through the three doorways on the east and river front, reached by steps from the river bed, or from boats when the river was at high level. Hither barges would bring the Rāja, his state business concluded, from the palace some distance to the south down the river.

The entrances on the river front are three in number, each being provided with a flight of steps. Vegetation had gained a firm hold on this part of the screen wall, with the result that the sandstone slabs with which it is faced had been gradually pushed away from their brick backing. The thresholds of the doorways are 10 feet 3 inches above the lowest step, and above the threshold the screen wall is some 12 feet 6 inches in height. It is divided into arched bays filled with *jali* work of rather coarse pattern. Some of the *jali* screens have disappeared. The motive of decoration employed on the screen wall is the wine-vase and the lotus flower. Each pier is ornamented with three of these vases set one above the other. Above the arches runs a plain panelled frieze topped by a moulded cornice, from which project the stone rings in which were fixed *shamiānah*[1] poles or flag-staffs, and above this is a parapet of brick masonry rendered with *chunam*.[2]

The south-west and north-west corners of the enclosure wall were originally marked by *chattris* similar to those seen on the river front but these have disappeared.

Along the top of the wall ran aqueducts which carried water from the well at the south-west to various basins and tanks in the garden (see Plan of Enclosure). Two of these have come to light in clearing the garden. The water ran into them down a "scolloped cascade" which extended from the top of the wall to the basin.

The *chattri* itself stands on a rectangular platform measuring 62 feet east-west, by 70′ north and south, built of brick, and reached by a single flight of steps on its east side.

Neither is the *chattri* itself square in plan, the bays on the east and west sides being larger than on the other sides. An ornamental plinth runs round the building and on it rest the bases of the columns which carry the superstructure of the building.

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[1] *Sham̩anah*-Awning.

[2] *Chunam* is a durable kind of plaster used for rendering wall surfaces.

A detail of one of the "bays," whose *jali* work can only be termed as exquisite, is given in the illustration (Plate LII). The shafts of the columns are many faceted, and from their necking is suspended a series of "chains and bells."[1]

A particularly pleasing feature is noticeable in the capitals of the corner-columns, the square of the superstructure above them being merged into the capital by means of a piece of foliage strongly reminiscent of the classic volute.

The *chajja*,[2] noticeable for the size of its projection (Plate LIII, *a*), is supported above every column by twin brackets with an extra angle bracket at each corner. The drawing will clearly explain its construction. The parapet is embellished with the usual *mudakhal*[3] pattern combined with floral carving.

Internally the columns are similarly treated, and the ceiling is deeply coved. All is in red sandstone.

The proportions of the building are excellent and the deep shadow produced by the exceptionally large *chajja* gives an excellent effect of light and shade. The carving, however, on close inspection does not bear criticism so well. It is shallow and not executed with the refinement and the beauty of expression which is seen in earlier work. This is especially noticeable in the brackets between the columns and those supporting the *chajja*. They are perhaps a little meagre in comparison with the *chajja* which they carry.

Other items of conservation work included the removal of whitewash, with which the building was covered both inside and outside, and the renewal of part of the parapet and *chajja*. No restoration of carved work was attempted except where absolutely necessary.

There is no inscription on the wall or building and what purpose the building served it is hard to say. The simple slab inside, in the centre of the floor, has led some to think it to be the *Samād*[4] of the Rāja. Another writer refers to the *chattri* as being his *kac͟hehrī* or court.[5]

Rāja Jaswant Singh played a prominent part in the civil wars which convulsed the country at the close of S͟hāh-jahān's reign. His turncoat policy is not commendable, but at all events he was no worse than those amongst whom he lived. He occupied a high military rank in the reign of S͟hāh-jahān and was, with Qāsim K͟hān, sent by the Emperor against the rebellious princes Aurangzēb and Murād Bak͟hs͟h. The two generals did all they could to persuade the revolting princes to withdraw to their own provinces but near Ujjain the forces met and S͟hāh-jahān's army was defeated. Qāsim K͟hān treacherously deserted the Rāja early in the fight.[6]

Manucci, after giving the account of the battle, thus describes the reception the Rāja received from his spouse on his return. "He did not wish to return to Agra, owing to the great loss of some 10,000 Rajputs, who had followed him and were all his subjects . . . . . . Rāja Jaswant Singh arrived in his country with

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[1] A favourite piece of Hindu ornamentation.

[2] The projecting slab cornice seen on nearly every Indian building.

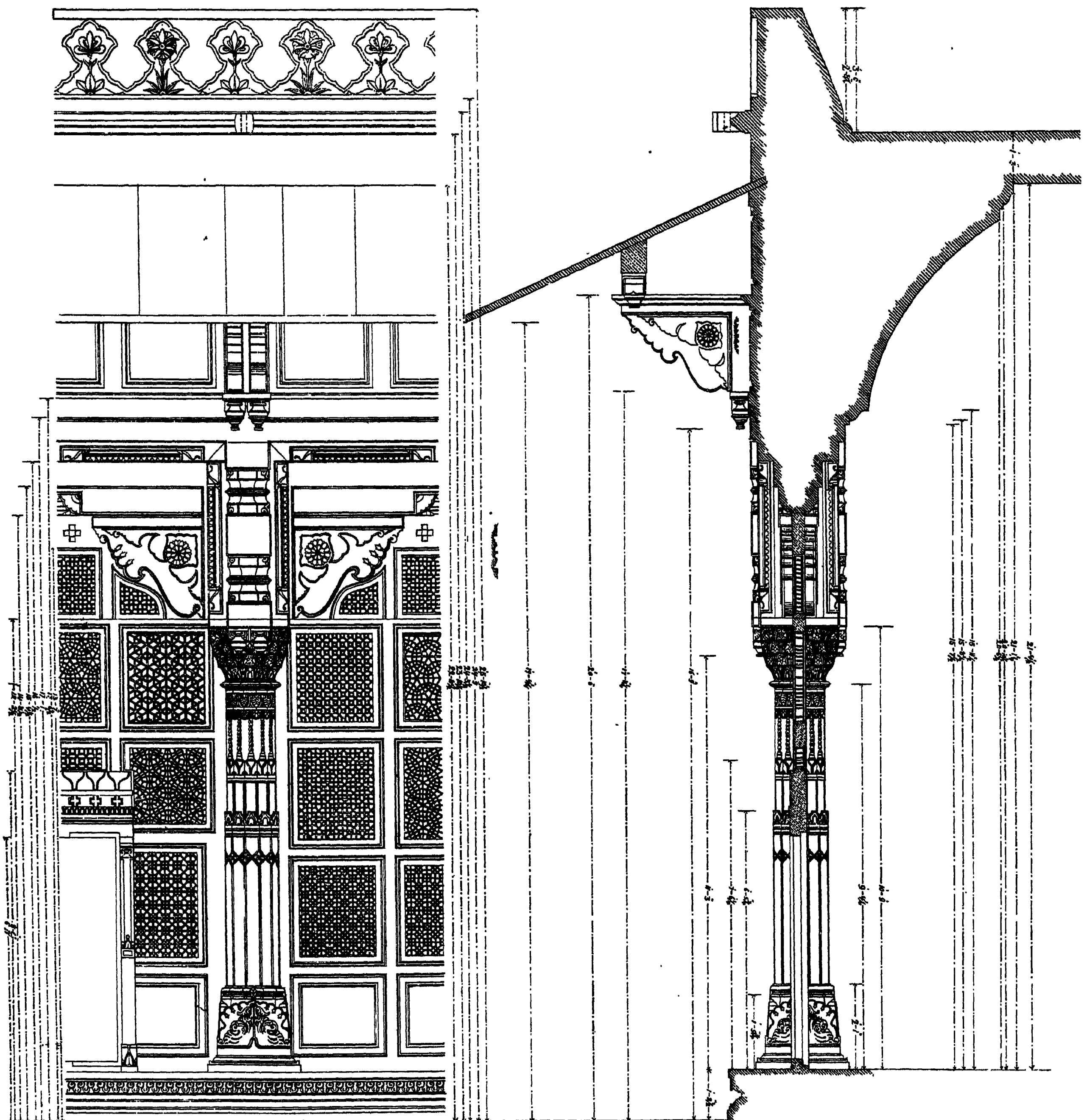
[3] 'Mudakhal'=Entering into, or engaging in.

[4] Samad=Place where ashes of Hindūs are deposited.

[5] *Tarik͟h Agra* by Sib Chand (Mss. fol. 181).

[6] "It was then that Kasem Khan (Qasim K͟hān) ingloriously fled from the field leaving Jessomgemsue (Jasawant Singh) exposed to the most imminent peril." *Bernier*, p. 39.

CHATTRI OF RAJA JASWANT SINGH, AGRA.



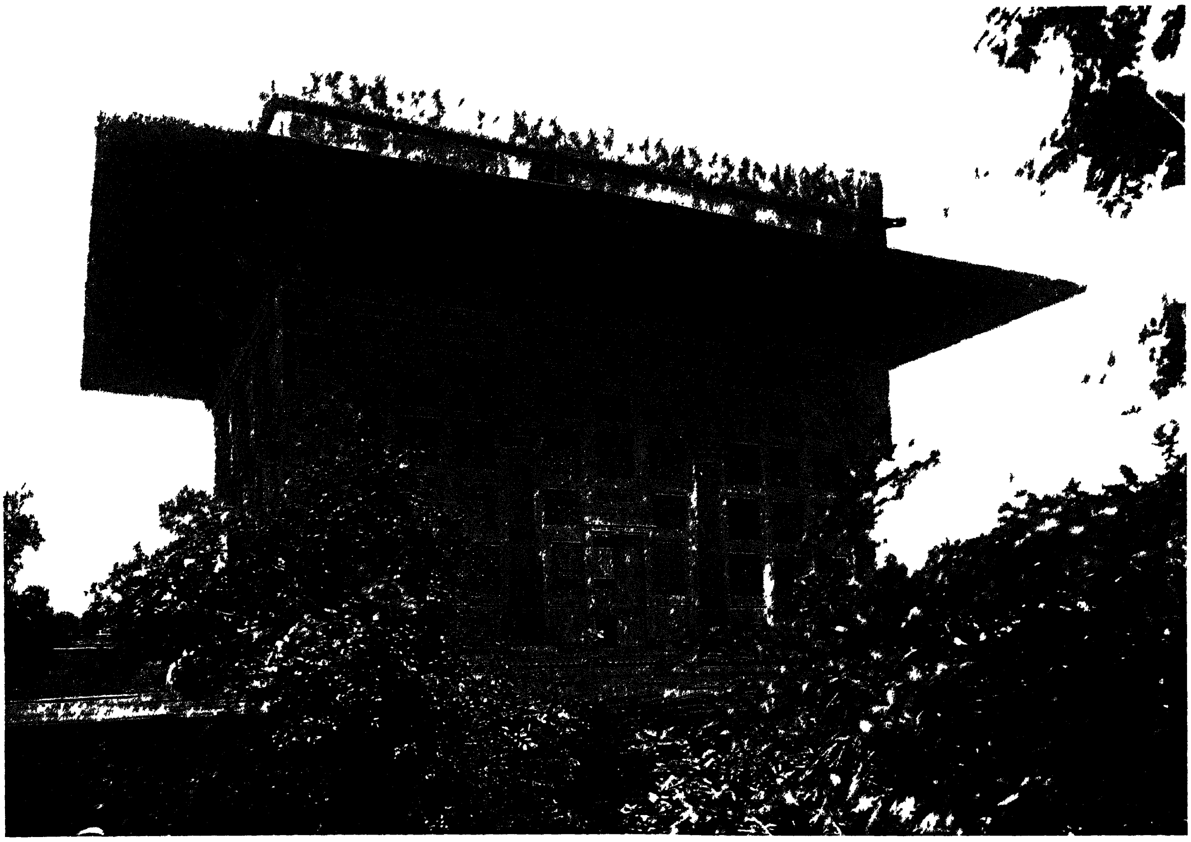
FAZL-UD-DIN, DEL.

GORDON SANDERSON.

DETAIL OF COLUMNS AND JALI SCREENS.

SCALE ¾ = 1 FOOT

INCH 3 6 9 12 15 FEET



(a) THE CHATTRI OF RAJA JASWANT SINGH, AGRA, AFTER REPAIRS.



(b) THE AKBARI MAHALL, AGRA FORT, EAST FAÇADE, AFTER REPAIRS.

only fifteen horsemen, all the rest from various accidents having quitted him. His wife, the daughter of the Rānā, a Hindu King, was named Ranagi (Rānījī). She had been informed of his defeat, of what had passed in the battle, with what valour he had fought, and how with the few men remaining he was unable to resist [179] the enemy any longer. But instead of sending a message to meet him and console him in his discomfiture, she at once ordered the gates to be closed. This was at Udepor (Udepur),[1] the chief town. He was not to be allowed to enter and she added the contemptuous words: "from this day he is no longer my husband and I never want to see his face again. As a descendant of the Great Rānā, his soul should not have been thus vile; he ought to have recollected his connection with our illustrious house. His business was to gain the battle or to die on the spot; then should I have acquired one of two glorious things—the renown of being a hero's wife, or an honoured widow's death by burning." Her rage and passion were so great that she knew not what she was inventing or saying. She had conceived an idea that her husband had been killed in battle, and that all they were telling her was only meant to prevent her burning herself [as a sati]. She issued orders for the preparation of the necessary materials for her death by fire, announcing that her husband was dead, for how could it be otherwise? On being assured that her husband was really alive, she suddenly flew into a greater rage . . . . . . Worn out by all this grief she said that all her life she would never look on the face of such a white-livered soldier. Her mother, Manucci goes on to say, tried to assuage her. Even Aurangzēb, when he had become king, tried to restore the connubial peace. "Once the Rāja wanted to eat a melon and along with it the serving-maid presented a knife. Thereupon Rānījī suddenly fell upon the maid and seized her by the hair, beating and thumping her, saying: 'Knowest thou not the courage of this runaway, that when he sees a bit of iron of any sort he swoons?' This was her behaviour for the rest of her life."[2]

In the fighting between Aurangzēb and S̲h̲āh S̲h̲ujā', Jaswant Singh remained near Agra. A rumour came thither that Aurangzēb had been defeated,[3] and if Jaswant Singh had only entered the city he might have delivered his master S̲h̲āh-jahān from prison. "But while we admit," says Manucci, "that he was not wanting in a wish to release S̲h̲āh-jahān, he judged that in existing circumstances it was impossible, there being no one to take his side."[4] He therefore retired to his own country.

He then threw in his lot with Dārā, but the wily Aurangzēb, by offering to make him Viceroy in Gujarāt and to pardon him for his previous rebellion, caused him to break his word to Dārā,[5] an action which considerably weakened the cause of the latter, who was shortly afterwards finally defeated. In the year 1662 A.D., Aurangzēb fell ill and confusion reigned at Delhi, his headquarters.[6] There were

[1] This story also appears in *Bernier*, pp. 40, 41, but without the introduction of Udepur (the Rānā's capital and not Jaswant Singh's), which seems to be Manucci's own contribution V. Mr. Irvine's footnote No. 2, *S. D. M.*, Vol. I, p. 260.

[2] *S. D. M.*, Vol. I, pp. 260-262.

[3] *Bernier*, p. 78.

[4] *S. D. M.*, Vol. I, p. 332.

[5] *Bernier*, p. 87.

[6] *S. D. M.*, Vol II, pp. 54-55.

rumours that the Rāja was coming from Gujarāt to free Shāh-jahān from prison, additional evidence to the feeling that he always bore for his first master. The Rāja was never well-affected towards Aurangzēb. He disobeyed his orders on one occasion, and, during the expedition under Shāh 'Ālam against Shivā Jī in the Dakhin, signed a document agreeing to rebel against Aurangzēb. Shāh 'Ālam had been previously instructed by his father to pretend to rebel and to get the signatures of his officers to the agreement in connection therewith.[1] Aurangzēb's idea was to catch Shivā Jī by this means, and he also wanted to see on which of Shāh 'Ālam's officers he could rely. The plot however failed, Shivā Ji was not to be caught, and all it resulted in was the discovery by Aurangzēb of the disloyal officers, who had all signed the document save Diler Khān. "The war against Shivā Ji began anew, but Aurangzēb had lost trust in the generals in the Dakhin and displaced them, sending other captains in their place. The displaced officers were sent elsewhere as Viceroys and Governors, and he kept them on the move from one government to another so long as he lived. Rajah Jaswant Singh was despatched to the other side of the river Indus.[2] The rajah, although he made terrible grimaces, still obeyed, for fear that Aurangzēb might attack and ruin his family."[3]

"In the same year (? 1678)," says Manucci, "died Rajah Jaswant Singh on the farther side of the river Indus. On obtaining information of this death, Aurangzēb sent an order to the Viceroy to forward to court the two sons of the rajah ; he also wrote to them direct that he wished to reward the valour of their father. They came with 500 horsemen, leaving the surplus men to find their way to their own country. When they arrived at Dilhī they heard that, instead of rewarding them, Aurangzēb meant to cut off their heads. On finding this out, they fled from the city before daybreak, and posted two hundred and fifty horsemen on the bridge with twelve arches[4] which stands opposite Humāyūn's Mausoleum. Their orders were to hinder any one from passing and seizing the little rajahs. In the morning Aurangzēb knew of the rajahs' flight and at once sent a force to pursue and seize them. But the two hundred and fifty Rājpūts defended the passage most valorously, and prevented anyone getting past them. Men were killed on both sides, but no one was able to pass. Then night fell, and the Rājpūts who had barred the way rejoined the others who were in charge of the rajahs. Among the dead were two women clothed as men, who gladly offered their lives to defend their princes against the cruelty of Aurangzēb. The death of Rajah Jaswant Singh was used by Aurangzēb as an opening to oppress the Hindus still more, since they had

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[1] "Shāh 'Alam was appointed to the Dakhin in 1667. Jaswant Singh was deputed to serve under him (Ma, āṣir-i-'Ālamgiri, 56, last line but one ; 61, line 1). Grant Duff, 99, and Elphinstone, 554, throw doubt on the rebellion of Shāh 'Ālam, real or pretended. But the Ma, āṣir-i-'Ālamgīri, 101, treats it as a real rebellion. Therefore something of the sort must have happened. Elphinstone objects that Jai Singh could not have joined it, because he had left the Dakhin, and was in fact, dead, before the date assigned. In this he is misled by (Çatrou, edition 1715, 3rd part, 78), and his 'Jacing'; this is not meant for Jai, but for Jaswant Singh who was both alive and in the Dakhin. Orme, 'Fragments', 18, 19, believed in the rebellion and so did Bhīm Sen ; Jonathan Scott's Authority. (*History of Dekhan*, II. 24).'' *S. D. M.*, Vol. II, p. 159, note I.

[2] "Jaswant Singh was thānādar of Jamrūd (in the Khaibar Pass) in the fourteenth year, 1082 H. (1671 A. D.)," *S. D. M.*, Vol. II, p. 166, note 2.

[3] *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 166.

[4] "The well-known Bārahpulah or Bārahpalah bridge, which still stands in the position indicated." *S. D. M.*, Vol. II, p. 233. Foot-note 3.

no longer any valiant and powerful rajah who could defend them. He imposed on the Hindūs a poll tax,[1] which everyone was forced to pay, some more or some less. Great merchants paid thirteen rupees and a half, the middle class six rupees and a quarter, and the poor three rupees and a half every year. This refers to men and not to women; boys began to pay as soon as they passed their fourteenth year. Aurangzēb did this for two reasons: first, because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on his campaigns; secondly, to force the Hindūs to become Mahomedans. Many who were unable to pay turned Mahomedans to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors.

"Annoyed of the flight of the rajahs, Aurangzēb took the field for a campaign against the famous Rānī, wife of Jaswant Singh, although that princess had sent to the king many letters inquiring the nature of his grievance. She represented to him the privileges conceded to them by all the previous Moghul kings. But with a powerful man it is no use to argue. Thus this princess was obliged to cede to Aurangzēb a province and the town of Mairtha.[2]"

Quoting Mr. Irvine's note,[3] this "jizyah," or poll tax, on the Hindūs was imposed by Aurangzēb in the year 1677 according to Elphinstone, that is, one year before the Rāja's death; but the Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, as well as Manucci, take its date as being one year after his death.

The following letter of the Rāja to the Emperor would seem to show that the tax was imposed before his death; he thus complains: "in fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindūs is repugnant to justice," and it seems probable that he is referring to the "jizyah." The letter, which only too clearly shows the unsympathetic and intolerant spirit with which Aurangzēb ruled his subjects, and which ultimately was, perhaps, the prime cause of the downfall of the Mug͟hal empire, runs as follows:—

"All due praise be rendered to the glory of the Almighty and the munificence of Your Majesty, which is conspicuous as the sun and moon. Although I, your well-wisher, have separated myself from your sublime presence, I am nevertheless zealous in the performance of every bounden act of obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenuous services are employed to promote the prosperity of the Kings, Nobles, Mirza's, Rajahs and Roys, of the provinces of Hindostan, and chiefs of Aeraun, Juraun, Room, and Shawn, the inhabitants of the seven climates, and all persons travelling by land and by water. This my inclination is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former services, and Your Majesty's condescension, I presume to solicit the royal attention to some circumstances, in which the public as well as private welfare is greatly interested.

"I have been informed, that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your well-wisher; and that you have ordered a tribute to be levied to falsify the exigencies of your exhausted treasury.

"May it please Your Majesty, your royal ancestor Mahomed Jelaul ul Deen

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[1] "The jizyah. Elphinstone, 559, says it was imposed in 1667 (1088 H.), that is, two years earlier. However, according to the Ma, āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī, 174, the correct year is 1090 H., twentieth year (1679-80) which agrees with Manucci." *S. D. M.*, Vol. II, p. 234, foot-note 1.

[2] *S. D. M.*, Vol. II, pp. 233, 234.

[3] See foot-note No. 1 above.

Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus, or of Moses, or David, or Mahomed; were they Bramins, were they of the sect of Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour; insomuch that his people, in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggut Grow[1] (Guardian of Mankind). His Majesty Mahomed Noor ul Deen Jehangeer, likewise, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended, for a period of twenty-two years, the shadow of his protection over the heads of his people; successful by a constant fidelity to his allies and a vigorous exertion of his arm in business.

" Nor less did the illustrious Shâh Jehân, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue. Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors, whilst they pursued these great and generous principles wheresoever they directed their steps, conquest and prosperity went before them; and then they reduced many countries and fortresses to their obedience. During Your Majesty's reign, many have been alienated from the empire, and further loss of territory must necessarily follow, since devastation and rapine now prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When indigence has reached the habitation of the Sovereign and his princes, what can be the condition of the nobles? As to the soldiery, they are in murmurs, the merchants complaining, the Mahomedans discontented, the Hindoos destitute, and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in rage and desperation.

" How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved, who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people thus miserably reduced? At this juncture, it is told from east to west, that the emperor of Hindostan, jealous of the poor Hindoo devotee, will exact a tribute from Bramins, Sanorahs, Joghies, Berawghies, Sonasses; that regardless of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race, he condescends to exercise his power over the solitary inoffensive anchoret. If Your Majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will be there instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in his presence. Distinctions of colour are of his ordination. It is he who gives existence. In your temples, to His name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images, where the bell is shaken, still he is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, Presume not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of Power Divine.

" In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to justice; it is equally foreign from good policy, as it must impoverish the country. Moreover it

[1] Jagat Guru (the Spiritual Preceptor of the World)

is an innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindostan. But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to determine upon this measure, the demand ought, by the rules of equity, to have been made first upon Ram Sing,[1] who is esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoos. Then let your well-wisher be called upon, with whom you will have less difficulty to encounter; but to torment ants and flies is unworthy of an heroic or generous mind. It is wonderful that the ministers of your government should have neglected to instruct Your Majesty in the rules of rectitude and honour."[2]

Outspoken words these, but only too true, and doubtless the cause of the bitter spirit showed by Emperor Aurangzēb to the Rāja's sons and wife after his death.

c.—Akbarī Maḥall, Agra Fort.

The restoration of the triple arcade, the central feature of the east front of Akbar's palace, has now been completed at a cost of Rs. 996.

The new work consisted in providing new red sandstone brackets and *chajja*, while the piers of the upper arcade with their lintel-carrying brackets have been reconstructed. The position of the new *chajja* was determined by the mark on the wall of the slope of the original one. Plates LIII, *b*, shows the eastern façade after completion of the work, and it can be readily seen how much it owes to the restoration of this central feature, the execution of which does every credit to the Executive Engineer of Agra and his staff. It must be remembered that both the upper and lower arcades formerly opened on to balconies, that, in the case of the lower storey, the balcony running along the intervening space between the Bengāli Bastion and the octagonal turret of the Jahāngīrī Maḥall. The remains of its stonework, as well as that of the upper balcony, can be seen in the Plate.

For a full description of the Akbarī Maḥall attention is invited to the article thereon by the late Mr. Froude Tucker in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey for 1907-1908.

GORDON SANDERSON.

[1] Ram Singh I of Jaipūr, son of Rāja Jai Singh I.

[2] *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, by Robert Orme, London, 1805, p. 252, Note I V.

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